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ADDENDUM TO THE "ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA"

PART I

EDWIN W. SMITH

SOME OBSERVABLE CHANGES

ONE expects to find changes in the life of a people after a lapse of thirty years ; and changes I certainly did find when paying a brief visit to the Baila in May 1947. All through this period they have been subject to the external influence of the Government, the traders and the Missions. They do not provide as much labour as some other tribes provide for European farms and mines ; but a certain number leave their homes and undoubtedly return with new ideas. Many men were recruited by the army and served in East Africa and Burma. As a people they are reputed to be very conservative ; they move slowly ; but under the pressure of these combined factors they certainly have moved. In many respects they differ from the Baila with whom I first made contact in 1902.

The first thing I noticed was the disappearance of the unique head-dress pictured in *The Ila-speaking Peoples*: the *isusu*, a real work of art in itself, measuring from base to tip almost four feet. Men coming fresh from the hands of the expert hair-dresser—it was a lengthy and painful process—presented a very fine appearance in the old days ; I was sorry this noble coiffure had gone out of fashion. The lesser cone—*impumbe* or *insuku*—at one time ornamented with brass chair-nails—is also no longer to be seen.

With *kufungwa* (to have the hair dressed) has also gone *kubanga*, (to remove the top incisor and canine teeth). All the young boys and girls whom I observed had their full complement of teeth. I do not regret this change for the practice was cruel and served no practical end. It is not unknown that adult men fill up the lacunae in their mounths with dentures. It is said that one chief had all his teeth extracted by a European dentist and two sets made of artificial teeth, one complete and the other minus the top incisors and canines ; and that he wears now the one and now the other as befits the occasion. Forty-five years ago the men went stark-naked ; now they are all clothed—at least those whom I saw. Women seem to have abandoned their finely dressed doe-skin petticoats in favour of European skirts. Time was when the idea of harnessing a bullock was absolutely repellent to these cattle-loving people ; they thought it cruelty to dumb animals ; now I saw many ploughs in the villages. They had, I am told, about 750 in use before war-conditions made it impossible to renew the parts ; and now they have about 500. The number of cattle has decreased in recent years—from 70,000 in 1928 to about 43,000 in 1947 ; this is due, not mainly to the sales in response to the demand of the war-years but to the encroachment of tsetse north of the Kafue. The Government has now taken steps to meet this manace by clearing,

and fencing, a belt of bushland 1000 yards wide and 98 miles long, and killing off the game remaining within the cordon. (This barrier will not keep out the baboons and other small animals.) Ila villages were never paragons of cleanliness and I gained the impression that they were filthier than when I lived in the country. Ila teachers disputed what I said on this point: I was, they said, comparing their villages with what I was accustomed to in England; in reality, they declared, there was a marked improvement both in the villages and in the persons of the Baila. But I still think that things have deteriorated in this respect. In our book, Dale and I gave a sketch-plan of Lubwe, the residence of chief Shaloba; it showed about 250 huts built mostly on the edge of a circle four hundred yards in diameter; the *mikobo*, fenced sections occupied by separate families, were clearly defined; the great central space, broken by the chief's *chikwa* (island), was kept clear of trees. On my visit to Lubwe I found this once-orderly village all confusion—the complete circle was broken up, the central space was littered, the *mikobo* had disappeared and many of the huts were tumble-down. Some of the chiefs now have small brick cottages, but otherwise the style of architecture is unchanged. A few of the huts I entered—notably that of the head-wife of chief Kakobela—were excellently neat and clean.

The Baila retain their attitude of bluff independence. A newspaper correspondent describing some of the chiefs who were present at the reception of the Royal Family at Victoria Falls reported: "The tall gaunt Baila chiefs in their head-dresses of fur and feather were the most striking of the lesser chiefs. They had the proud air of independent men. They looked the Governor in the eye and as man to man. There was no servility or cringing." The people are as likeable as ever; but there is, I thought, some falling-off in their manners—some of their polite customs are not so punctiliously observed as they used to be. More than once I was driven to quote the proverbs: *Matako amwenzu makadikwa*, (A visitor's buttocks are made to sit upon); *Mwenzu taalangwa ankumu*, *mulange mwifu*, (A visitor's face is not to be

regarded but his stomach). I noticed that foreign expressions are creeping into daily speech. I heard, for instance, a man admonish the driver of a lorry: *koya ku-lefiti*, (go to the left) instead of *ku-chimonswe*; and when some oxen in the yoke had got mixed up I heard a man say: *Natuchenje*, (let us change [them]) using the English word where there is quite a good Ila equivalent. I suppose it is some evidence of the spread of literacy that the names of owners are seen painted in black or white upon so many huts. These are observable changes; and I do not doubt there are many changes of a deeper kind which a longer sojourn would have revealed to me.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM

The Baila who served in the Second World War in East Africa and Burma made a great name for themselves. They may not always have proved very amenable to discipline when in camp but as fighters they were superb. One officer said to me: "Whenever you met a particularly good N.C.O. you could be sure he was either an Ila or an Ngoni." Yet I heard the opinion expressed that in spite of their fine physique the Baila are a decadent people and doomed to extinction. The alleged decrease in population was brought to the notice of the Legislative Council and the Government was strongly urged to take steps to arrest the decline by establishing medical work among them. This is now being done. Dr. Evans is carrying out preliminary investigations and it is proposed to erect an adequately staffed hospital at Namwala, the district headquarters. Since, as is commonly the case in Africa, there are no vital statistics it is impossible to say with precision whether, and at what rate, the population is actually decreasing or increasing. In our book (Vol. 1, pp. 313 sqq.) Dale and I gave approximate figures, based on the tax returns of 1915 and probably under-estimated, for each of the 78 communes. Many of these segments have now been transferred to other administrative districts, for which recent figures are not available; some of the smaller segments have been amalga-

mated with larger ones to make up the 14 communes which at present comprise the Namwala district. Because of these changes it is impossible, in the absence of more detailed information, to compare accurately, commune by commune, the figures for 1915 and 1946. For what they are worth they are set out in this table.

| <i>Chishi</i> | 1915 | 1946 | a. Increase or b. decrease. |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------|--------------------------------|
| Itumbi (Kayingu) | 423 | 1887 | a. 464 |
| Maala (Mungaila) | 2878 | 2699 | b. 179 |
| Bambwe (Mukobela) | 1148 | 1644 | a. 496 |
| Banamwazi (Chidia- bufu) | 996 | 1290 | a. 494 |
| Lubwe (Shaloba) | 1347 | 996 | b. 351 |
| Manimbwa (Shezongo) | 2451 | 3134 | b. 317 |
| Mbeza (Nalubamba) | 1158 | 2283 | a. 225 |
| Nyambo (Muwezwa) | 586 | 1113 | a. 527 |
| Makunko (Musulwe) | 694 | 900 | a. 206 |
| Namakubi (Muchila) | 1110 | 1872 | a. 762 |
| Kabulamwande (Chinda) | 843 | 740 | b. 103 |
| Basanga (Musungwa) | 449 | 1471 | a. 1022 |
| Kabulungwe (Shikafwe) | 1260 | 965 | b. 235 |
| Lubanda (Shimbizhi) | 1147 | 1659 | a. 512 |
| | 16,437 | 21,653 | a. 5,216 |

This table shows an increase of 5,216 in the thirty years. Three of the largest communes, Kasenga, Lubwe and Manimbwa, have decreased by 847, in spite of any additions to them of smaller segments. The decline may in part be due to migration. The official return for 1946 states that 1074 (presumably) males were "at work for wages"—488 outside the Southern Province but within Northern Rhodesia; 482 in Southern Rhodesia; 103 in the Union of South Africa; and 1 in the Belgian Congo. These were all tax-payers who are included in the total population figure; they are not to be termed "migrants". How many Baila have removed permanently from the area since 1915 is not known. It is possible, even probable, that the decrease is due to a diminished birthrate coupled with a high rate of infantile mortality. No records are kept but there are indications that the former is very low and the latter very high.

The official return for 1915 gives these details:

| | | |
|----------------------|------|-------|
| Adult males..... | 7327 | |
| Adult females..... | 8315 | 15842 |
| Children : male..... | 3267 | |
| female..... | 2744 | 6011 |

That is to say, roughly three children to every four women. Mr. Norman Price the energetic D.C. who has this question much at heart, tried to abstract the *pukka* Baila from the Balumbu and other groups which make up the Ila-speaking peoples. These are his figures:

| | | |
|----------------------|------|-------|
| Adult males..... | 4583 | |
| Adult females..... | 5426 | 10009 |
| Children : male..... | 1552 | |
| female..... | 1257 | 2809 |

That is to say, about one child to every two women. In a village of 173 women only one child had been born in the previous twelve months. In 1944 the missionary at Kasenga, the Rev. H. G. James, made a house-to-house count in some of the local villages, and found as follows:

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|------|
| Adult males..... | 368 | |
| Adult females..... | 454 | 822 |
| Children..... | 236 | 1058 |

Here again about one child to every two women. Some authorities say that to maintain a satisfactory demographic situation an African population must count 130 children under 16 for 100 adult women. If the figures I have given are reliable, it would seem that population is definitely regressive for they show that for every 100 adult women there are only 72.4 children and in part of the population only 50 children. Mr. James counted as children all girls up to roughly 15 or 16 years of age and boys to about 18. None of the women was unattached. Of the men 47 (13 per cent) were unmarried at the time "though all have been married at one time or another"; 219 (60 per cent) had one wife, 71 (19 per cent) had two, 21 (6 per cent) had three, and 5 (2 per cent) had from five to eight. Mr. James reported: "There are a great number of women who have never given birth to a child. ... I have gone to villages where there was not a single baby. But the position changes from village to village, seemingly for no reason at all."

This state of things is not new. Dale and I wrote: "When the advantages under which the Baila live—their numerous herds, the abundance

of fish, the frequent windfalls of meat, and their productive soil—when these advantages, comprising all an African desires, are remembered, it will be a matter of surprise that their numbers are so small. . . . The writers at the time of the first census of the people were amazed to find kraal after kraal inhabited solely by adults, and to receive time and again the same reply, that there were no children, that, much as they wished for them, conception was a very difficult matter." (Vol. 1, pp. 15,16.)

When one talks with young married childless women (as I have done) one receives the stock answer: *Leza watukasha kuzhala*, (God forbids us to bear children). An answer which like charity covers a multitude of sins. One contributory cause is undoubtedly venereal disease but the incidence of this has been exaggerated: some people have guessed it to be as high as 70 or 80 per cent. At the time of my visit Dr. Evans had examined 1800 persons at Kasenga and 1662 at Bambwe and found actual active syphilis in 19.8 per cent among the former and 23.5 per cent among the latter. There are African tribes with a larger percentage of syphilis and a greater proportion of children. The precocity and promiscuity of sexual relations are probably responsible to a large degree, as Dale and I suggested long ago. There seems to be little improvement since we wrote that "it is no exaggeration to state that from the age of seven or eight a girl, married or otherwise, counts her lovers, who are constantly changing, not singly but by the score." *Lumbabo*, a socially recognized liaison between married men and women I am told, is still practiced though no longer openly acknowledged and (it is said) it is not so popular among women as it used to be. Abortifacients are still resorted to; and men tell you that women have contraceptive medicines which they employ. Possibly, in addition, there are unknown factors operating against the getting of children. Dr. G. A. Schwes, confronted by similar conditions among some of the Congo tribes, believed he had found such a factor in certain anatomical lesions, for a considerable percentage of adult males was afflicted by testicular atrophy, and he claimed to have establi-

shed an endocrinien theory of *denatalité*. Be that as it may, it is to be hoped that the Medical Department may succeed in doing something to arrest the numerical decline of this fine tribe.

HISTORY OF THE BAILA

It is pleasing to me, who first put the Ila language into written form, that several of the educated Baila have shown distinct literary gifts. One of them, Harry Nkumbula (now a student at the Institute of Education, London University) wrote a description of his people that I hope may be published; another, Matthew Lucheya, wrote up the traditions of the Balumbu; a third, Moses Mubitana, produced an excellent translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. L. W. Syaapela Price compiled a history of the Baila from information that he collected from old men. It is from this that I have translated the following narrative. It was all quite new to me when I first read it. Somehow or other nothing of it ever reached my ears during my residence among the Baila. "Once upon a time, how long ago nobody knows, there existed a large kingdom stretching from the Zambezi north to the Lukanga swamp of the Kafue river and from the border of what is now Barotseland on the west very far to the east; that is to say, it covered the territory now occupied by Baila, Batonga and Balenje; those tribes then formed one nation. The ruling clan was the Benangombe (the cattle clan) and its *muziko* (founder) was Cibaaya, the first king. Where he came from nobody can tell. He brought in cattle and subdued the tribes who lived the life of nomads. His people were named Bachazi. They grew so much grain that they could not harvest it all. The conquered peoples, who lived on wild fruits and roots and game, said: 'Let us go to those grain-folk (*banamaila*) to buy food.' The nickname stuck but Cibaaya did not like it and shortened it to Baila and Baila his people remained.

"Cibaaya's capital was situated north of the Kafue between the present communes of Banamwaze and Lubanda near a river still named the river of Bachazi. It was a great town, or collection

of towns, surrounded by a threefold rampart of horns—the cattle of those days were much bigger than those of to-day and their horns were gigantic. His wife (or one of his wives) was named Njole and they had two sons, Muchazi and Shilumweemwe, and a daughter Siiba. Muchazi died young and his brother was suspected of poisoning him but was acquitted. It was then that Cibaaya made a law which is still in force: 'A man shall not give his brother food which he himself has not first tasted.' Shilumweemwe became his father's right hand in ruling his immense kingdom. It is said of him that he planted the forests by giving seeds to birds which scattered them over the land.

"Of Siiba it is said that there are no words to describe her surpassing beauty. She was the loveliest of girls and as clever as she was beautiful. Her skill in pottery and basketry and in playing the *cisolo* game was matchless. In those early days the work that women do now, hoeing fields, smearing houses and so on, was done by men. The men of the capital were so constantly absent fighting that, inspired by Siiba, the women had to undertake it; and they still do it.

"In many parts of the country ancient mine-workings are still to be seen. The tradition is that a light-skinned people named Bana-Mutuba from the south dug these pits for iron. They came to Cibaaya for permission to dig and he readily gave it and refused payment. He gave them many cattle and in return they taught his people to forge spears and hoes.

"Now this is the tale of Siiba. She was very fond of cattle and was wont to accompany the herds when they went out to graze. One morning she went out as usual and while gathering *bun-kuungwa* by the river bank her maid came running and said: 'Hide! Hide! Strange men are coming this way.' But before Siiba could hide the men, who were Bana-Mutuba, espied her and their hearts left them in amazement. 'Is this a real human being or a ghost?' they asked each other. 'Than this girl there is no more beautiful thing on earth to show our king.' They went to Cibaaya and said: 'Will you allow us to take your child to our far-off land so that your fellow-king may gladden his eyes (*akayase linso*, "may pierce his

eye") by the sight of this creature of God?' Cibaaya curtly refused; but as they persisted he said after some days: 'Count the hairs on my child's head.' 'We cannot do it,' they replied, 'Let the king only tell what he requires of us.' And Cibaaya said: 'Since you cannot count her hairs I also want an uncountable guarantee. Go, tell your king that I want a multitude of his people to stay in my land and on that condition my child shall go to your country.' On receiving this message the king of the Bana-Mutuba sent many hundreds of men and women; and after a year had elapsed they arrived at Cibaaya's capital. Now the king said to Siiba: 'Go with a good heart, my child. You are not bought and sold. May good-luck and honour attend you. The skill you have shown here, show there also.' Siiba wept bitterly but finally agreed to go. A great feast was prepared; so many cattle were killed that men ate lying on their backs—they could no longer stand. Siiba was accompanied by a numerous escort bearing tusks of ivory and skins of lions, leopards, cheetahs and otters as a gift to the king of the Bana-Mutuba. To the hostages Cibaaya said: 'You are not slaves. Choose a place for yourselves and live as you please.' They chose to live on the banks of the Kafue River and their descendants are still there: they are the Batwa who live on fish and water-lily roots and the flesh of wild animals.

"During the absence of Siiba an invader named Imununga appeared with a great army and sent a message of defiance to Cibaaya. The king was not dismayed. He sent his chief councillor Chikanyanga with a hundred oxen and loads of grain to feed the invaders who, he said, must be hungry and weary after their long march. He told Imununga's ambassador: 'Tell your master I fear no man: When he has finished eating let him go home.' Imununga's reply was: 'To-morrow either I or Cibaaya will be food for the vultures.' Next day the earth trembled under the march of the invading army. When they arrived before the formidable ramparts of Cibaaya's capital there was silence; no warriors appeared to fight them. Then as they waited in astonished silence a dense darkness descended over the land, so dense that

a man could not see his hand. The ramparts disappeared from sight. The invaders were stricken with fear and retreated some distance. When the light reappeared the queen Njole stood before them with the head-skin of an old bull in her hands. 'Are you not yet humbled, you sons of Imununga?' she cried. 'Cibaaya will not fight you. You have only me to fight, you dogs. His kingdom is as unyielding as this bull-skin is dry and hard. Come, take me. Take too this skin and when you have eaten it come and eat us.' She put the head-skin of the bull on the ground and went back into the town. Suddenly the dry piece of hide was transformed into a fierce red bull which charged into the midst of the enemy. Spears hurled at it could not pierce its hide but turned back against the warriors. In the confusion they slew each other until all their weapons were broken. Imununga escaped by climbing a tree. The bull returned to the town. Njole poured cold water on its forehead and it changed again into an old skin which Njole hung in the sacred grove. Then she said to Cibaaya: 'Let Chikanyanga go to Imununga's camp and bring him and his captains here; the war is over.'

'Imununga and his captains—such as were unwounded—came and made obeisance to Cibaaya. He had mercy on them and seated Imununga on a stool; and asked him how he governed his people. Now Imununga possessed a magical instrument composed of a human leg-bone surmounted by a child's skull and attached to it the tail of an unknown animal. With this he subdued people, he said. 'This skull is the messenger I send; it goes wherever I point and it splinters the hearts of the people, so that when I go to fight them I find them weak. But it did not happen so with you. My charms failed. I am beaten. Let my king do with me what he will.' Cibaaya sent him home after giving him many cattle. Imununga never attacked the Baila again.

'Meanwhile Siiba was eating her heart out in the foreign land. She busied herself imparting the skills for which she was famous but grew more and more homesick and at last escaped with some companions by night. She stayed some

time among another tribe but reached her father's capital at last and was received with great rejoicing. Cibaaya told the Batwa hostages to depart but they refused to go. Soon afterwards he died quietly in his sleep and amid universal mourning was buried in the sacred grove—the Isaka-chazi—which had grown up around the grave of his son Muchazi and his wife Njole. Chikanyanga and others were buried alive with him so that they might accompany him to the spirit-world.

'Shilumweemwe 'ate the name' but proved unequal to his father and the kingdom began to decline. Many changes took place. For one thing the custom of *ciko* bride-wealth was instituted. Up to now all cattle belonged to the king but so many head were distributed among the people on Cibaaya's death that they became wealthy in stock and the king ordered that henceforth a bridegroom's kin should hand so many head over to the bride's family.

'Shilumweemwe was a great hunter. Once he crossed the Kafue and in one day killed 25 elephants east of where Namwala boma stands to-day. He ordered the local people to cut up the elephants but when he returned all the meat and the tusks had disappeared. As a punishment he ordered the people to collect rocks and pile them up; and that is the origin of the two hills which stand to-day near Nkala. [On one of them the first police camp in Ila country was built.]

'The king was often absent from the capital visiting his dominions and Siiba acted for him; but her strength began to fail. She gave instructions that when she died her body was not to be buried in Isaka-chazi but to be placed on a platform on the river-bank. She had brought home with her two eggs and these she said were to be placed, one in her right ear and the other in her left. She died and her orders were carried out. Three days later Shilumweemwe went to the river, taking with him a young girl who carried a small basket full of ticks gathered from the cattle: this too Siiba had ordered. Arriving at the river they found, not Siiba's body but two white birds, egrets. They fed them on the ticks and the birds flew off to where the cattle were grazing. The king told his people: 'Never kill those birds; they are

my sister Siiba reborn on earth. She will help us to herd our cattle even as she was wont to do.' Since those days egrets have multiplied and are to be seen in large numbers wherever there are cattle. So the beloved Siiba still watches over her favoured beasts.

"An invading army led by Lilyango appeared in the country south of the Kafue soon after Siiba's death. Shilumweemwe crossed the river to meet them and built a camp where the Namwala, boma now stands. When the invaders approached he sent a message to Lilyango: 'Walk carefully or thorns will pierce your feet. Let Lilyango come to talk with me before the spears begin to fly.' So Lilyango came and Shilumweemwe spoke: 'Before I cut off your head, you ape, I will show you my strength.' He took Lilyango and his men to where there were rocks: 'Tread here', he commanded. They trod the rocks and left no trace of footprints. 'See, you hyena, you have no strength. Now let us go to the river bank', said Shilumweemwe. There at a place famed as Bwengwa-Leza is a shelf of sandstone. 'Let Lilyango and his men tread here! 'was the king's order. They obeyed and when they lifted their feet, lo! the rock was all pitted. 'Sit down!' They sat and their buttocks left impressions. Whatever was placed upon the rock, whether cattle, dogs, chickens, or grainmortars, left their marks. Then Shilumweemwe spoke again: 'Are you now convinced, you jackal, of my power that it has caused a softening of this rock? Here I have written an indelible sign. All my *lucubo* (distant descendants) yet unborn shall see the wonder I performed on the day I cut off your head, you reptile.'

"Those imprints in the rock Bwengwa-Leza are to be seen to-day. Some people imagine they were made by the first men who descended from above when they touched earth; but they are in error. [This is the story we recorded in *The Ila-speaking Peoples*.] Lilyango's head was cut off there and then; the mass of his men was slaughtered as if they were *masunto* oxen killed at a funeral and those who escaped fell into the jaws of crocodiles. After this there was peace in the land while Shilumweemwe lived.

"He died suddenly with his pipe in his mouth

and was buried in the sacred grove, Isaka-chazi. There was great lamentation. People said: 'Let us all die. Leza wills that our *mushobo* (tribe) shall never be strong on earth. The kingdom has perished with Shilumweemwe for there is no one to take his place. Let us starve to death rather than kill each other!' So they burnt their grain and threw pots and mortars and grinding stones into the river. They mourned without feasting. One old man, moved with pity for his little grandson, hid some food and others followed his example.

"And so the nation as a nation came to an end. It split into fragments as we see it to-day. Men to whom the king had entrusted his cattle to herd now claimed them as their own, built villages apart and set up to be chiefings of separate communes. Peace came to an end. Inter-communal visitings ceased. Cattle-raiding became the normal thing. One commune made war upon another. Whole sections of the nation moved off and became distinct tribes, as did Batonga and Balenje, and in course of time learnt to speak different dialects. And so things are what they are to-day in the land where once flourished a great kingdom."

In this story as related by Syapela Price no mention is made of the Chiefs whose story is told in the *Ila-Speaking Peoples*—of Shimunenga, Munyama, Bulongo—nor of others who are still revered as divinities. Presumably they came on the scene subsequent to the decline and fall of the kingdom.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Of the changes that have taken place in the Ila country none is of greater interest and more promising for the future than the substitution of "indirect" for "direct" rule, i.e. the recognition of Native Authorities as an integral element of administration. In Northern Rhodesia the transformation began in 1930 when the old Native courts were re-established and given certain powers. In 1936 Native Treasuries and Appeal

Courts were legalized. The new system was gradually applied to the Baila.

Now in the Namwala district there are 14 subordinate Native Authorities, that is to say there are 14 recognized chiefs each of whom is assisted in his functions by a council of three or four men. The Baila have no Paramount Chief, so the Superior Native Authority is composed of all these 14 chiefs and their councillors meeting at Namwala three times a year. There near the boma a Native Authority capital is growing up; each chief has his "town-house" and there are dwellings for the N.A.'s employees, a Treasury office, and a community hall.

The subordinate Native Authority has jurisdiction in civil cases where all parties are African. At Maala, for example, the chief-in-council deals with cases relating to marriage and divorce, the return of *chiko* (bride-wealth), the custody and maintenance of children under Native law and custom, and inheritance; also cases for the recovery of debts not exceeding £50. In criminal cases the court can inflict a fine of £10 and award three months imprisonment with hard labour and/or ten strokes.

The majority of the N.As are reported to take their duties seriously, act with a sense of responsibility, and see that orders are obeyed. I suppose that many, if not most, of the old councillors were chosen by the chiefs from among the headmen or his cronies; but the principle of popular election has been introduced. I had no opportunity of witnessing an election but am told that at a meeting of all the people of a *chishi* nominations are called for and made; each nominee then stands apart and his supporters gather about him and are counted: the three or four with largest support are declared *bashinkuta* for a term. (The name is hybrid, *-nkuta* being derived from Sotho *khotla*, "court" through Lozi *kuta*.) By this means some of the younger and educated men have been brought into the councils. At present the councillors have both judicial and executive functions: there is no clear dividing line between a councillor having the one function and a councillor having the other. Government aims at drawing this distinction clearly so that

certain councillors will have executive functions as heads of departments, one being allotted the duty of attending to roads, to another cattle, to a third schools. At present the 3 or 4 councillors are paid only £1 a month each for their judicial and other work. In addition each chief has other men to carry out specialized jobs. Mungaila has school attendance officer, cattle guard, court clerk, *kapasu*. Young men allotted these tasks do not sit with other councillors when judging cases; and they are paid rather larger allowances than the others. The purpose of this is that younger men of the right type may be introduced into the councils and paid adequate wages for a full-time job. An energetic cattle guard would also be a councillor and able to bring his experience and broader outlook to bear upon the discussion of the elder and more conservative councillors.

The meetings of the Superior Native Authority three times a year at Namwala are something like what Basuto would call a *pitso*, for they are attended by the general public; indeed, any and everyone is welcome to attend, so that they are in fact tribal gatherings. At the meeting in May new legislation is considered though it can be so at any meeting: it may be proposed by any subordinate authority or by the District Commissioner who presides over the meeting. The annual budget is brought before the meeting in August; and the November meeting especially deals with appeals from the lower courts but these are also heard at all three meetings. At each meeting, if necessary, a panel of chiefs and councillors hear cases which have proved too difficult for, or are beyond the jurisdiction of, the lower courts.

The Native Authority is alive to the necessity of stopping the sexual irregularities which are a menace to the existence of the tribe. In May 1946 these rules were made: 1. Both parties in adultery cases to be fined; 2. Imprisonment to be inflicted for flagrant and persistent adultery; 3. The bridewealth (*chiko*) to be fixed at a maximum of six head of cattle or £6; 4. Divorce to be made more difficult; the party responsible to pay £5 compensation to the husband; the court fee to be raised to £2; 5. Where the respondent

is known he is to pay £5 or five head of cattle as compensation to the husband and the woman to pay him the same amount; in addition the man is to pay a fine of £3 or go to prison for three months hard labour. In default of payment, or in serious cases, imprisonment without option. The object of these rules, declared the N.A., is to put a stop to the breaking up of marriages by ne'er-do-wells.

The fines inflicted for adultery are, in ordinary cases, thirty shillings or a beast of that value; in cases where the wife of a headman or elder is concerned, £2. 10; and if it is adultery with a chief's wife, £3. 10. Imprisonment is awarded to professional whores; for persistent adultery; and for sexual acts within the (Native) prohibited degrees. The Native Authority has also made strict rules aimed at the movement of women out of the district. Any woman who wishes to leave on a visit must first give full reasons to the local N.A.; if it approves she is given a letter to the District Commissioner who issues a pass. A woman who infringes this rule is punished on her return. In spite of all, women do go off to the railway line; but I am assured that the allegation is false that men send their wives there to prostitute themselves.

The Namwala Native Treasury is naturally small in comparison with some of which we read. Its revenue of £3,019 is derived from a share of 2s. in each hut-tax paid, court fees and fines, and licences. The last varies from 7s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. It pays out allowances to chiefs (£402), to councillors (£444), and the wages of 82 employees—clerks, *kapasus*, school attendance officers, medical orderlies, etc. (£305). It receives also a grant from the Central Government towards salaries of chiefs or other payments go for buildings and roads. Last year it made a grant of £200 for school buildings and £100 for school equipment. There is a reserve of nearly £4000.

Another admirable action of the Native Authority was to take initiative in asking the Government to introduce a measure of compulsory education. The Education Department hesitated to consent because of a well-grounded doubt that such a

people as the Baila were in earnest and would carry it through. But approval was given. The N.A. made a rule that where children are living within reasonable distance of a school (i.e. four miles or so) they must attend for four years. When in January 1945 the rule came into force the attendance at the Methodist schools leapt five or sevenfold. Attendance officers appointed and paid by the N.As see that the rule is obeyed. Unfortunately the number of schools is very small, quite inadequate to the need: 4 Native Authority schools and about 20 Mission schools in the Namwala district, with an enrolment of 1400 pupils. But when I think of the sheer impossibility in former times of inducing fathers to send their boys and girls to school, I am surprised to find that the Baila have progressed so far—that they of all people should be the first in British Africa to institute compulsory education!

From the primary schools many boys proceed to the Kafue Training Institute or similar schools. Having acquired some English, they drift off to the European centres along the railway and become servants of white men; very few of them, apart from a handful of teachers and clerks, return to stay at their homes. It would seem that schools are one means of draining the district of its most intelligent and progressive young men. No doubt they perform a useful service wherever they go, but they are not building up the Ila community and raising it to a higher level. There was a girls' school at Kasenga but it was closed. It was not well supported partly, I believe, because the chiefs feared that the girls would drift away like the boys. Run on different lines, and in the present changed state of things, it might be more successful.

Personally I should like to see a school started of a different kind—a school where, with a minimum of book-learning and all in the vernacular, young men would be taught to utilize the natural resources of the district, the fish in the river, the milk and hides of the herds, and so on. Such a school run in conjunction with the Government's Development Plans should provide an economic basis for a self-sustaining progressive Ila community.

THE USE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN IN XHOSA

W. BOURQUIN

If we listen to a speech in Xhosa, we shall find that the demonstrative pronoun is much more extensively used than in English. Examples given by Xhosa writers will enable us to study its varied use and to understand the different shades of meaning which can be expressed by it.

1. The forms of the demonstrative pronoun

Like most of the other Bantu languages Xhosa has three sets of demonstrative pronouns. The first refers to things nearby, the second to those more remote and the third to those far away, represented in English by "this, that and yonder". Thus we get according to the different classes, as numbered by Bleek-Meinhof, the following forms :

| | this | that | yonder |
|-----|-------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | <i>lo</i> | <i>lowo, loo</i> | <i>lowa, laa</i> |
| 2. | <i>aoba</i> | <i>aabo</i> | <i>aabaya, aabaa</i> |
| 3. | <i>lo</i> | <i>lowo, loo</i> | <i>lowa, laa</i> |
| 4. | <i>le</i> | <i>leyo, loo</i> | <i>leya, laa</i> |
| 5. | <i>eli</i> | <i>elo</i> | <i>eliya, elaa</i> |
| 6. | <i>la</i> | <i>lawo, loo</i> | <i>lawa, laa</i> |
| 7. | <i>esi</i> | <i>eso</i> | <i>esiya, esaa</i> |
| 8. | <i>ezi</i> | <i>ezo</i> | <i>eziya, ezaa</i> |
| 9. | <i>le</i> | <i>leyo, loo</i> | <i>leya, laa</i> |
| 10. | <i>ezi</i> | <i>ezo</i> | <i>eziya, ezaa</i> |
| 11. | <i>oku</i> | <i>olo</i> | <i>okuya, olaa</i> |
| 12. | — | — | — |
| 13. | — | — | — |
| 14. | <i>obu</i> | <i>obo</i> | <i>obuya, obaa</i> |
| 15. | <i>oku</i> | <i>oko</i> | <i>okuya, okaa</i> |

Strictly speaking also the local adverbs *apha, a-pho, phaya, phaa*, "here, there, yonder" should be given here, as they are the old demonstrative pronouns to class 16, which class, however, is now obsolete in Xhosa.

In the same way the forms *oku* found in *ngoku, oko, okuya* meaning "now, then, at that time" belong to the locative class 17, which is still found in other Bantu languages.

2. The demonstrative can stand alone as the subject or the object of a sentence

Uyath'ukugqiba lowo abe sel' ekho omnye. Just as that one had finished, there was already another one.

Aabo bangabantwana bakhe. Those are his children.

Nizibonele ngokwenu ukuba ngumbona lo. You see by yourself that this is maize.

Waqonda ukuba asiyomithi le. He understood that these were not trees.

Laye eli lilityala iokuqala. And this was the first court case.

Yintsomi endala ke le. This is an old story.

Yinto engenakwenzeka leyo. That cannot be done.

Omkhulu nolandela lowo. The eldest and he that follows him.

Masithabathe le yasempuma-linga. Let us take this one (i.e. road) going to the east.

Andisayi kukwenza oko. I shall never do that.

3. The demonstrative pronoun in direct connexion with nouns

When connected with nouns the demonstrative pronoun may either precede or follow them. In the first case the noun can have no article. The preceding demonstrative pronoun has more emphasis and corresponds in the main to the use of the English demonstrative pronouns.

(a) Preceding the noun.

Le ntaka kuthiwa yinxhanxhosi. This bird is called the secretary bird.

Andisithandi esi sidudu. I do not like this porridge.

Nikhe nazibona na exi xinto? Did you ever see these things?

Loo ndoda asikukho nokuBa yayiqondile. That man was very wise.

Wathabatha iinguBo zelo xhegokazi. He took the clothes of that old woman.

Aabo bantu bafika namhlanje. Those people arrived to-day.

Laa mpi yakowenu iyakoyiswa. That army there of yours will be defeated.

Ulibona na elaa baso likhanyayo? Do you see yonder shining light?

Ndinokoyikela ukuthi laa mntu akasakubuye akungise. I am afraid that that man there will never again do any good.

(b) Following the noun.

UPhalo ebe yinkosi ngomnyaka lowo. Phalo was chief in that year.

Yayi yinqhu' enkulu, ingonyama leyo. It was a big monster, that lion.

Makajonge ilitye eliya! Let him look at yonder stone.

4. The demonstrative pronoun in Xhosa where the definite article is used in English

In a narrative in English the definite article is invariably used in connexion with a noun previously mentioned, e.g. "I saw a dog lying in the road. When a car came along, the dog ran away."

In such a case the demonstrative pronoun is frequently used in Xhosa, mostly that of the second set. As a rule it follows the noun, although it might also precede it.

Ndaphupha ndibona umntu ephethe incwadi ngesandla. Ndoondela ndambona eyinqika incwadi leyo. I dreamt I saw a man, a book in his hand. I looked and saw him open the book.

Wafika emzini wezilo. Izilo ezi zazinomyezo. He came to the village of the animals. The animals had a garden.

Wafika uxam ebetha ugwali. Uthe uHlakanyana: "Kha undiboleke ugwali olo kancinane." The leguan came playing a musical instrument called *ugwali*. Hlakanyana said: "Please lend me the instrument for a little while."

We see here the beginning of a development such as took place long ago in the European languages and resulted in the creation of the definite article. In nearly all European languages this article developed out of the demonstrative pronoun as for instance French *le, la* and Italian *il, la* from Latin *ille, illa*.

Although Xhosa already has its peculiar article, this does not correspond exactly to the European articles. In its increasing use of the demonstrative pronoun Xhosa shows a tendency to follow lines similar to those that prevailed in European languages. The different writers vary in the frequency of its use. Some use it rather sparsely. Yet it has already taken a firm root as the following examples will show. It seems probable that its use will increase in time to come.

(a) Very instructive, in this respect is the classical translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* by Tiyo Soga. It is not an unwieldy literal translation but a fluently written piece of Xhosa literature. The writer has done full justice to the soul of the language. There we find many examples of a demonstrative pronoun in Xhosa where in the English original the definite article has been used.

Ithe ke indoda leyo. Then the man said.

Phakathi kwaBo nesango elo kwakukho umlambo. Between them and the gate there was a river.

Akwafumaneka kuBo ndlela bangawuphepha ngawo umkwambo lowo. No way could be found by them by which they might escape the river.

Ubuzile ke kwaabo bafo ukuba amanzi la amfani nye na ubunzulu bawo. Then he asked the men if the water was all of one depth.

Useko obe umisiwe kulo umzi lowo. The foundation upon which the city was erected.

Iqela labalilisi-maxilongo bokumkani lowo. Several of the king's trumpeters.

Uthe umgwebi wabekisa kulo mfo ubanjwewo. Then the judge directed his speech to the prisoner.

Xa sel' efikile phezu kwenduli leyo. When he had arrived on top of the hill.

Waza wawabeka amagqabi kumanxeba lawo, abe wabinzwe edabini elo. He applied the leaves to the wounds which he had received in the battle.

Waphuza kwiselwa elo ebesand' ukulinikwa. He drank from the bottle which he had just been given.

Ungazoyiki iingonyama ezi. Do not be afraid of the lions.

Zisa amanzi apha ufefe igumbi eli. Bring water here and sprinkle the room.

Hayi ke mna, uthe omnye lowo. Not I, said the other one.

Kwathiwa ngabanye aabo basini. It was said by the other two.

(b) Examples from other writers :

Khululani izinja ezi! Let the dogs loose!

Wayithatha ke uHlakanyana loo nyama. Then Hlakanyana took the meat.

Aniliboni na igazi eli? Do you not see the blood?

Ungayifiya ke phantsi kwelitye apho inyoka leyo. You can leave the snake here under the stone.

Aya evela ngoku amakhulu amafu ukuza kugquma ilanga eli. Now there appeared big clouds and covered the sun.

Xefikweni kuza kuhanjwa kwenye kwezo ntlanga zinkulu. When travelling in one of the big deserts.

Walucela ufudo olu ukuba luhambe naye. He asked the tortoise to go with him.

Enye le inengozi. The other one (i.e. road) is dangerous.

Yaphaphela phezulu kunenye leyo. It flew higher than the other one.

Ude umlimi wayibamba impungutye leyo. At last the farmer caught the fox.

Kodwa mhlana atsha amanzi la siya kutsha-balala. But when the water dries up we shall perish.

Wayibulala indlovu leyo ngotolo. He killed the elephant with an arrow.

Into eninzi yeegufa iyathengiswa kubaxheli abathengisa ngenyama leyo. Many sheep are sold to the butchers who sell the meat.

Kanti noko sel' ekufuphi uloliwe lowo. However the train is very near.

Indoda ibifuna ukuthengainja inayo nemali leyo. The man wanted to buy the dog, having also the money.

Nemvubu yamangaliswa ukuba umpundla loo wathatha phina amandla angaka. Also the hippopotamus was astonished where the hare got such strength.

Wazama ukukhulula eli qina ngamazinyo. He tried to untie the knot with his teeth.

Umkhonto waxcuphethwe ngumthunywa lo. The assegai was carried by the messenger.

Wathi makwenzelwe uMhlekezi lo ikofu. He said that coffee should be made for the Chief.

Wawafola ameva lawo walilungisa inzeba. He took the thorns out and dressed the wound.

Athe amadoda, abehamba nenkosi leyo, ancuma. The men who went with the chief smiled.

Ikomkhulu eli labe yindawo yokufunda. The chief's residence was a place where one could learn.

Mhla uphelayo umdudo lo. When the dance came to an end.

As mentioned above the adverbs *apha*, *apho* were originally the demonstrative pronouns for class 16 which no longer exists in Xhosa. Instead a special locative form is used with the suffix *-ini*. To this form *apha* or *apho* is often added, just as the demonstrative is added to nouns of the still existing classes.

Ubesakuthi chu egxalabeni apha lenkosi yakhe. He was sitting on the shoulder of his master.

Waphuma eludakeni apho. He got out of the mud.

Kwasuka kwawela intsfaba ezi zakhe emhadini apho. Then his enemies fell into the ditch.

Kwaakho intambo emqaleni apha wehase emlonyeni apha. There was a strop around the neck of the horse stretching to the mouth.

5. Demonstratives are also employed where in English the noun is used in a general or generic sense, with or without the article.

Uyena mntu uyindoda ngumlimi lo. The real man is the farmer.

Umnga lo ukwa ngumthi omhle ehlotyeni. The thorn tree is likewise a beautiful tree in summer.

UmXhosa lo utshaya kwakufudumala, atshaye kwakubanda. A Xhosa smokes when it is hot, he smokes when it is cold.

Icuba eli liyinto abayithanda bonke. Tobacco is something which all like.

Wafuna intwana elingene netiki le. He wanted a little bit worth a tickcy (three pence).

Okuya abantwana bebe behlonela abazali, umntwana lo engenalizwi ntweni. At that time, the children respected the parents, a child having no say in anything.

Oko umntwana ebede afe ngumntu, esengumntwana lo, lo, lo. At that time a child might even have become an adult, still remaining a child.

Intlalo le yinto yemithetho. The way of living is based on laws.

Imfundo le asinto inakhaya layo limiselekileyo. Education has not a fixed abode.

Umntu lo ufana nomthi. Man is like a tree.

Nokumkani lo uncedwa yintsimi. Even a king gets help from the field.

Imigidi le ziinto zakutsha nje. The imigidi (type of festival with beer) are things of recent times.

Ikhazi eli laligale alamisekwa. The dowry was originally not fixed.

Ukwimi ohu lububisa uxolo lomzi. The tongue destroys the peace of the home.

Ndiyazi ukuba ugqiba imali eninzi ngotywala obu. I know that he spends much on beer.

Nokufulela izindlu ezi ibe ikwa ngumsebenzi wabafazi. Also the thatching of houses was likewise women's work.

Isibindi esi lilungu elingumangaliso. The liver is a marvellous part (of the body).

Namhla akusekho maphulo, kuba ufulumente uyifuyile inyamakazi le. To-day there are no hunting expeditions as the Government preserves the game.

Kwatyapa izinja ezi zingakwazi ukukhwela emithini. Fortunately dogs cannot climb trees.

Nathi ke ukukhuthala oku kungasizuzela indawo ebekekileyo. Diligence could also procure for us a place of honour.

Ukuthetha oku asikukwenza. Talking is not doing.

Kunceda nto nina ukuphuza oku? What does help drinking?

Ukulima oku kulungile kambe. Ploughing of course is good.

Waqala ukuncwina ngokungathi ngumntu lo. He started to sigh as if he were a human being.

Umhlaba wawulilitye eli. The ground was (as hard as) stone.

Umlilwana omncinanana, imatshisi le-le-le, umchaka-chakana wentlantsi—mingaphina imililokazi ebangwe zezo ntwana. A small, little fire, the match, a stray spark—what big fires have been caused by those little things.

Ayixelisi oooqotyeni aaba. It does not act like the rock-lizards.

Kakade amaXhosa la ngabantu abanamasiko. The Xhosa have always been people with customs.

Ngeloxesa amaZulu la ebe sisizwana esincinane. At that time the Zulu were a small tribe.

Saye siphantsi kwemiThethwa leyo. And it (the tribe) was under the Thethwa.

Ngeziqu xilingana neencede ezi. As regards their body they are like the grass-warblers.

Examples where the locative form is used.

Ezintakeni apha andikholwa ukuba ikho egqitha igxiya ngokuba nengxolo. Among the birds, none, I think, surpasses the plover by its noise.

Kanti ke yosuka ithumbise nasenjeni apho yona imvukazi xa inetakane layo. But a ewe, if it has a lamb, will even attack a dog.

When the demonstrative pronoun is used in the way indicated in this paragraph, it always follows the noun.

6. The demonstrative used with proper names

Like nouns under section 3 proper names can also be used with the demonstrative pronoun, especially if they have been previously mentioned and are referred to again.

Ndithethe inene ngaye uVumazonke lowo. I have said the truth about Pliable.

UNxele lo uyaxoka. Nxele tells lies.

Thabatha uNtimbo lo. Take Ntimbo.

Unyana wam uNzimende lo. My son Nzimende.

Ndaliguqula ihafe lam uWalaza lowo. I turned back my horse Walaza.

Loo Miliya ngulo ngoku ungunina ka Thenjiwe. Miliya is she who is now the mother of Thenjiwe.

Bada bafika eTyume ooNyengana aabo. At last Nyengana and his party came to Tyume.

Uyise wooKobe nooDukwana aaba. The father of the Kobes and Dukwanas.

Names of towns and countries can also have the demonstrative pronouns.

IBetani le likhaya lothando. Bethany is the home of love.

Yaye neMonti leyo ifike apha ngencam. Also the end of East London reached up to here.

ITiyopiya le yabibubukumkani obupheleleyo. Ethiopia was a complete kingdom.

IRussia le niyiva idume kangaka namhla. Russia which, as you hear, is so well known to-day.

7. The demonstrative together with the absolute pronoun

The demonstrative can be used with the absolute pronoun not only in the third but also in the first and second person or the absolute pronoun can be added to a noun with the demonstrative.

Yiva mna lo, ubuye. Listen to me and return.

Makuqale mna lo. Let me begin.

Ngaloo mini ndaphuluka umna lo ekufeni. On that day I escaped death.

Silinde wena lowo. We are waiting for you.

Akuboni na ukuBa kuncedwa wena lo? Don't you see that you are helped?

Kuba thina aaba sonke siya kugwetywa. For all of us will be judged.

Sona eso silo be sisikhulu kunawe. That animal was bigger than you.

Yena lo Hintsa ulwe nini na? When did Hintsa fight?

Kekaloku ukuBa yena lo mfazi usebukhobokeni. Now if that woman is in bondage.

Yaba yinto eyodwa kum, yona leyo. That was a strange thing to me.

Zikhona ezinye iindlela zimbini ngaphandle kwa leyo yona ivela esangweni. There are two other roads besides that which comes from the gate.

Imilambo le yona yelela phi? Where are the rivers flowing to?

Hayi, yona le ndawo ndiyayivuma. Well, to that I agree.

Ezi zona izindlu exisencheni ziba ntle xa zimanzi ngumbethe. These cobwebs (houses) in the grass are pretty if they are wet with dew.

Ngoku kweli lona ilizwe izizwe zikhanyiselwe. Now the people in this country are enlightened.

Intwana le yona yalamba. The little one got hungry.

Kodwa wona amatye la ayasenzakalisa. But these stones hurt us.

Lonke ixefa yona le nja yayilele ekhaya. All the time the dog was lying at home.

Noko yona le ndawo ningayamkela, ningayamkeli. You might accept this or not.

8. The demonstrative in connexion with the formatives ku, kwa, na, nga, nje nga

There is no difficulty in these connexions which frequently occur. Very often, however, they are first connected with the abbreviated forms of the absolute pronoun and then followed by the demonstrative.

(a) *Zafela zonke kuloo mlilo.* They all died in that fire.

Ebengekho kule mbizo. He was not present at this meeting.

Kulowa mzana kuhleli inene. In yonder village lives a gentleman.

Ziquba emlanjeni ocanda phantsi kwaloo mithi. They bathe in the river, which flows under those trees.

Ngaphandle kwaabo bantu be kungekho namnye. Besides those people there was no one present.

Wathenga nelo hase limhlophe. He bought also that white horse.

Siza kuhamba nala madoda. We shall go with these men.

Walala apho ke ngoBo busuku. He slept there that night.

Esiya kuthi kuloo mbujiso sonakale kakubi. In which fearful overthrow we shall miserably come to ruin.

Ayingeze ibe namlilo nje ngale yam. It will never have fire such as that of mine.

(b) *NgokuBa siphumile nje endleleni kungam lo.* It is through me that we went out of the way.

Zonana nam lo. They transgressed against me.

Nawe lo ndokukhulula njalo. And so I will deliver you too.

Wandixhwelela nje ngawe lo. He wounded me as he did you.

Nje ngathi aaba. Just like us.

Intaka yamikelwa kuye lowo. The bird was handed over to him.

Phezu kwawo lo mfula kuthe zibathise amafu amnyama. Over this valley there hang dark clouds.

Indlela yam icanda kanye kuyo loo ndawo. My way goes right through this place.

Ngayo le ncwadi ndiya qonda ukuba ndimisile ukufa. From this book I understand that I must die.

Kukho nezinye iintlanga ezixubeneyo nazo ezi. There are other nations intermingled with these.

9. The demonstrative and the copula

The copula can be connected with the demonstrative pronoun just as it is connected with nouns according to the rules of the different classes.

In many cases however the copula is first connected with the abbreviated forms of the absolute pronoun just as in cases mentioned under section 8.

(a) *Yaba ngulo mfazi wenkosi yedwa ongenamtwana.* It was this wife of the chief only who had no child.

Eyona ntaka inokutinga kunazo zonke, yileyo ifanele ukuba yinkosi. The bird which could rise highest of all, this should be king.

Ukuba oku kuthethwa ngulo mfo kuyiyo inene. If what is said by this man is true.

Isizathu sokuqala sesi. The first reason is this.

Impendulo kuloo mbuzo yaba yile kuphela. The only answer to that question was this.

Ufike wema, limyile sesi simanga asibonayo. He came and stood, speechless at this wonder which he saw.

Ulivile ilizwi eliphathiswe umninawe wakho yile nkundla. You have heard the word which was directed to your brother by this meeting.

(b) *Inkosi yalo mhlaba ndim lo.* I am the ruler of this country.

Woyika ukuba nguye lo umkhuphe endleleni. He was afraid that it was he who turned him out of the road.

Lo msele nguwo lowo zisuke iimfama ziman' ukweyeliselana khona. This is the ditch into which the blind have always brought each other to fall.

Lilo eli izembe lam. This is my axe.

Iinkabi eziya kuhlinzwa zizo ezi. These are the oxen which will be slaughtered.

Zamangaliswa kunene kuko oku izalamane zakhe. At this his relations were much amazed.

10. The demonstrative in connexion with the possessive pronoun

In English it is of course quite possible to combine both pronouns, especially if emphasis is laid on the demonstrative. In Xhosa, however, both are frequently used together where the possessive pronoun alone would be sufficient in English.

Iqhinga lini elo lakho lokunisa imvula? What is your device to make rain?

Ndominceda ukuba nizikhulule iintsimbi zenu ezi. I shall help you to get rid of your irons.

Nawe uyabona umzimba wam lo ukhula. You too see that my body grows.

Ukuze olu sizi lwakhe lunganakanwa ngumfazi wakhe. That his distress should not be perceived by his wife.

Uthe ma ndahlukane nalo mthwalo wam. He said I should get rid of my burden.

Zihlawule iintaka zam ngolo lugxa lwakho. Pay my birds with your stick.

Ndeva ngondwendwe lwam olu. I heard from my guest.

Ndabona ngala mehlo am. I saw with my (own) eyes.

Eli hase lam lomelele. My horse is strong.

Wahlawula zonke ezo ndleko zenziwe yiloo nciniba yakhe. He paid all the expenses caused by his ostrich.

Utfhilo kumlingane wakhe lowo. He said to his friend.

Sizuze nto ni ke isigcawu ngalo monde waso? What does the spider get by its perseverance?

Ndingakupha le yam. I can give you mine (i.e. dog).

Ndolandela elo qela lam. I shall follow my company.

Baqala bathetha ngaloo ntetho yabo. They started to speak in their own language.

Unani na lo Thixo wakho unganisiyo imvula? How is it that your God does not let it rain?

Ngokuba ukukhanya kuphandla la mehlo am. For the light blinds my eyes.

Azisondele kule ndlu yam emini. They do not come to my house in day-time.

Uthathe umngwazi wakho lowo uhambe sihambe. Take your hat and let us go.

Kwakukhwa ndiya phuma kulo mnxhuma wam. When it gets dark I get out of my hole.

Wathi ma ndikangele kwezi zam. He said, I should look at mine (i.e. clothes).

Used derisively :

Khwelela paya nale ncwadi yakho ! Get away with your book there !

Besiya kusiza nto ni na ukudla kwenu oko ? What would your food there help ?

Andifuni le mali yakho. I do not want your money there.

Sometimes the demonstrative only is used in Xhosa where in English, on the other hand, the possessive pronoun only is used.

Yaandithi nzo ngaloo mehlo mafi alubelu. He looked at me with his wicked yellow eyes.

Amatakane eebokhwe amana enqhubana ngezi ntlokwana zingqukuva. The kids of goats are always thrusting each other with their little round heads.

Saza ke isikhumba seengxi phezu kwaloo magxa makhulu abanzi. And the skin was fixed on his big broad shoulders.

Nda bona kanjalo ephupheni elo. Moreover I saw in my dream.

Kananjalo unlomo lo ufana nowempuku. Again its mouth (that of a bat) resembles that of a mouse.

Wafika umxheli ubuso obu bunje ngenyama le uku ba bomvu. The butcher came, his face as red as the meat.

Abanye abantu baya sizingela iimbila ngokuthanda inyama le. Some people hunt the rock-rabbits as they like their meat.

Bathanda neemfelana esi. They also like their little skins.

Kwabonakala kwa ngenkqayi le uku ba izele ngamava. You could see by his bald head that he had much experience.

11. The demonstrative before a relative clause

Demonstratives are frequently used before a relative clause either by themselves or together

with nouns. In the first case they refer to such expressions in English as "he who, the one who, those who, that which, that one which". In the second case often the definite article is used in English.

(a) *Lowo uneendlebe zokuwa, ma keve.* He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

Lowo umthandayo umkakhe uya zithanda. He who loves his wife loves himself.

Lowo ulapho ngubani na ? Who is there ? (He who is there, who is he ?)

O, ngutwe kanti lo, uncedisa umvundla. Oh, you are the one who helps the hare.

Ndiya kubonisa ngoku uku ba ube ngubanina lowo ukulukuhlileyo kwa nalowo a be ekuse kuwe. I shall now show you who it was that deluded you and who it was also to whom he sent you.

Oko ndikuko kundanele. That what I am suffices me.

Ndokubonisa oko koba lulo uncedo kuwe. I shall show you that which will be of help to you.

Aabo be zintshaba zakhe. Those who were his enemies.

Lilo eli ndilithandayo. This is the one (horse) I like.

(b) *Lo mfo uyithengileyo le ntaka.* The man who bought this bird.

Iphina ke imvula leyo be niye kuyinisa ? Where is the rain which you wanted to make ?

Ndahlanganisa buphuthu-phuthu elo binzana ndandinalo. I hastily collected the small detachment I had.

Usuku olo lumisiweyo kwaba lusuku oluzolileyo. The day which was fixed was a calm day.

Amazimba la, siwathanda kangaka nje, aphuma phantsi. The Kaffir-corn which we like so much, comes out of the ground.

12. The use of "le nto", literally meaning "this thing"

(a) It is used before nouns when they express a general notion. It is either simply placed before the noun or connected with it by the copula, for instance : "This thing, a dog" or "this thing which is a dog", whereby in both cases the English ex-

pression "a dog" is circumscribed. In English the indefinite article or no article at all is used.

Le nto umntu ayifi kukwenzeka kwento engayithandi. A man does not die if something he does not like happens.

Le nto umntu ngentetho yayo ingahle iphambukise omnye. A man by his speech can easily mislead another one.

It must be noted that the concords refer to *le nto* and not to *umntu*.

Le nto intlonelo nembekwano ibikho. Respect and reverence existed (in olden times).

With the copula :

Le nto ingumthi iyinto entle enomsebenzi. A tree is something beautiful and useful.

Mhla le nto ingumntu yabisenokubekwa. When a man was still honoured.

Le nto ingamawele ngabantu abazelwe ngaminye. Twins are people born on the same day.

Ibiyindawo apho be kufundwa le nto ibuciko. It was a place where eloquence was learned.

EmaXhoseni le nto iliphupha ibinxulumene neenkolo-nkolo zasemanyangeni. With the Xhosa a dream was connected with the ancestral beliefs.

Le nto iyingqubela phambili yesizwe yinto ephuma ngaphakathi kuso. Progress in a nation is something which starts internally.

In the following sentence the demonstrative only is used and *into* must be understood :

Yabona iikati asinto ziyifunayo leyo yokuhlanjwa. You see, cats do not like to be washed (that of being washed).

(b) *Le nto* or *into leyo* in connexion with verbs : It has to be translated by "this, that which, which, what".

Ithe ke le nto yabangela ukuba wonke abe neenkomo. This caused that everybody had cattle.

Le nto imana ithethwa yokuphathwa kakubi yomfazi ibingekho. What is always said of bad treatment of a wife did not exist.

Wakhwela enahafeni into ke leyo yamnika isithozela esikhulu. He was riding on horseback which gave him much respect.

Into leyo eyamenza uSibonda wafuna ukufa ngumsindo. Which made the headman want to die of anger.

Wabetha ngoku umoya obandayo into ke leyo exela isimpango esizayo. Now a cold wind was blowing which foreboded a coming storm.

(c) *Le nto* is further used with the meaning of "that" in place of the ordinary "ukuḁa".

Kuthe ni na le nto lingalinywayo icuḁa kweli lizwe? How is it that tobacco is not grown in this country?

Yinto ni na yona le ingazanga yakhula ngokhlobo lwaḁantu? How is it that he never grew as people do?

Kungenxa yokuba ibulala iinyoka le nto kwenziwa umthetho wokuba ingabi ntaka ibulawayo inxhanxhosi. It is for the reason that it kills snakes that a law has been made, that no secretary bird should be killed.

Lomthi wathi ni na le nto waba yinto enje? What happened to that tree, that it became such a thing?

Niluhlobo luni na le nto ninje ningafani nathi? Of what kind are you that you are not like us?

Yinto ni na umntu lo le nto umkhumbulelayo. What is man that thou are mindful of him.

Wenze buḁi buni na, le nto andoyikayo? What evil has he done that he is afraid of me?

Le nto ubadungudelisayo, wenza nto ni? Why is it that you mislead them?

Zithe ni ezi lento zona zibumvo zingafaniyo neziya be sizibona ngasendleleni? How is it that these red ones (ants) are not like those we saw on the road?

13. Demonstratives following nouns with the formative "na"

In negative sentences nouns with the formative "na" and followed by a demonstrative are used in the sense of "nothing, not at all, not a single, none whatever".

Baza bangamnoneleli nento le. They did not care for him at all.

Ubuchule bungathengwa? Nento le. Can skill be bought? Not at all.

Kanti ke ukonakala kwabo akuyi kuba nexefa eli. But their destruction will not take any time.

Wada ke wangena uSikhova, waba ngakhangela, waba ngalunguza, waba ngathi ni nento le. Then

the owl went in and although it looked and peeped in or did anything else, it was for nothing.

Andifuni nethontsi eli mna. I do not want a single drop.

Akuzange kubuye kuvive nento le ngaye. Nothing has ever been heard of him.

Kusuke ngoku kungabi nelifu eli esibaka-bakeni. There was now not a single cloud in the sky.

Hayi mna, ndingabonisi nento le. Well I, I did not show anything.

Zibe ngabiza iinyokana azakhe zisondele noku-sondela oku iimpukwana. Although the little snakes called the little mice did not come any nearer.

Kwanga akusalanga nomntu lo. It seemed that not a single man was left.

14. Demonstratives used in the sense of "each, every, everyone"

Although there is another word in Xhosa to express "each, every, every one" namely *-onke*, use is also made of the demonstrative pronoun especially to express the meaning of "each".

Wathi lowo wahamba indlela yakhe. Each went his way.

Kulungile ukuthi yonke imisebenzi engaka nje kuphunyelwane nayo ngaminye, ithi leyo ibe nabantu bayo ithi leyo ibe nabayo. It is well that all such great works are dealt with separately, each having its special men.

Kukho ixefa leento zonke, nento leyo ma yenziwe ngexefa layo. There is a time for all things and each should be done at its (proper) time.

Kwiititfala uya kufumana leyo iphethe elayo igela elifundisayo. With teachers you will find that each has his group which he instructs.

Kuseloko ndaba yinto enje uthi lowo esuke andikhafe. Since that time I became such a thing and everybody kicked at me.

Onke amabala akhoyo ezinkomeni aye ekhona, elo ibala lihamba lodwa elo lihamba lodwa. All colours which are found among cattle were there, each colour going separately.

Leyo intwana inomsebenzi wayo, leyo inowayo. Each little part (in a machine) has its special work.

In the last two examples the word "each" is connected with a noun. It must be noted that these two nouns *ibala* and *intwana* have retained

their article. If *elo* and *leyo* were used in their proper sense as demonstratives, the article could not be employed, as they are preceding the noun.

In the following two examples however the case is reversed and the noun precedes the demonstrative. It should then according to the general rule retain the article, but it has dropped it. This shows that the demonstrative is not used in its original sense.

Mntu lowo badibana naye bambuza. Everyone whom they met, they asked.

Mphanda lowo uma ngamasants' awo. Every vat stands on its own bottom.

(b) In Maclaren's Xhosa grammar¹ some further special forms are given by which "each" can be expressed.

Class 1 *elowo, walowo*, 3 *elowo, walowo*, 5 *lielo, laelo*, 7 *sieso, saeso*, 9 *ileyo, yaleyo*, 11 *luolo, kwaolo*, 12 *buobo, baobo*, 15 *kuoko, kwaoko*.

According to Bennie² the forms *walowo, laelo*, etc. are a contraction of *waba lowo, laba elo*, etc., which seems indeed to be the case as the auxiliary verb *-ba* is sometimes still expressed. Some of the forms above are however unknown in East Griqualand, where the following forms are heard.

Class 1 *elowo*, 3 *ulowo*, 5 *ilelo*, 7 *iseso*, 9 *ileyo*, 11 *ilolo*, 12 *ibobo*, 15 *ikoko*.

Kropf³ gives for classes 5 and 7 also the forms *lalelo* and *saseso*.

The following examples were found in Xhosa literature :

Sabona ngoku benxhama elowo esiya ehafeni lakhe. We saw now that they were in a hurry each going to his horse.

Bathula elowo inxhowa yakhe. They loaded off, each his bag.

Walowo wangenisa isaziseleli sakhe. Each gave his certificate.

Apho kwakuhleli abantwana bebabini elowo ehleli kwesakhe isitulo. There sat two children, each on his chair.

¹ *A Xhosa Grammar*, by J. McLAREN. Revised by G. H. WELSH, 1942.

² *A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa Speaking*, by W. G. BENNIE, 1939.

³ *A Kaffir-English Dictionary*, by A. KROPF—R. GODFREY, 1915.

Yaangulowo wabeka izizathu. Each gave some reasons.

Athi elowo nalowo amfundise owakhe umsebenzi. He taught each (of his sons) his work.

Engulowo waqala ukuwudela umsebenzi womnye. Each started to despise the work of the other.

Ngosuku olandelayo yaba ngulowo umaakhi uye edolopeni. The following day each mason went to town.

Ibe yileyo yafuna isitfixo sendlu yayo. Each looked for the key of his house.

Iyileyo yafuna ukusela kuqala. Each wanted to drink first.

Iyilelo ke inyokana yazimisela ayikukhe igoduke. Each of the little snakes resolved not to go home.

Yaayileyo yenza umsebenzi ethunye wona. Each did the work for which he was sent.

Abonakele amadoda iyileyo iphuthume elayo iqegu. Then each of the men was seen to get his riding ox.

Aphuma ke, lalalo lahamba ngendlela ethandwa lilo. They went out and each went the way he liked.

Aphakama onke amalungu, lilelo linombuzo ofusu. Then all members stood up, each with a burning question.

Iseo isibaxa sisiza nawaso amanzi. Each tributary coming down with its own water.

Ilolo uhlobo lwempahla lunendawo yalo. Each type of goods (in a trading station) has its place.

Ilolo uhlobo lunexefa lalo. Each kind (of trees) has its time (for blossoming).

(c) To express "every day, all day long, every year" the demonstrative can be used.

Iimini ezi ebe hleli ebambene nabantu. All day long he quarrelled with the people.

Abe ke yena imihla le eman' ukufwabulela imimekwane yakhe. Every day he swore at his neighbours.

Alisoloko lifuna ukukwa iimini ezi. He does not want to fight every day.

Wachacha ngokukhawuleza waphika nemihla le. He recovered quickly improving every day.

A riddle: *Ndinamfazi elila le mihla. Lilitye lokusila.* I have a woman who works, crying every day. The millstone.

Waye ehlala elahlekelwa ngamatakane akhe iminyaka le. He constantly lost his lambs every year.

15. The demonstrative "eli, elo" is sometimes used alone if it refers to "ilizwi, word" or to "ilizwe, land, country"

(a) *Ugqibe ngelo omdala.* The old man finished (his speech) with that word.

Uthi akwelo uNdimangele. When the plaintiff said that.

Andisuki kweli lokuthi ndiya kukhokela. I will not move from my word, that I shall lead.

Le nkundla ayiqabelanga kwelo. The councillors' court did not go beyond that word.

(b) *Akufika kweli, ebefuna ukwaakha.* When he came to this country he wanted to build.

Nilundwendwe kwelo baya kulo. You are guests in that land whereto they are going.

Baze basinike amanzi sakufika sinxaniwe kwelo. So that they give us water when we come to that country thirsty.

Uthe akwenjenjalo lanyikima lonke eli. When he did so the whole country got into commotion.

16. Some other examples where demonstratives are used

(a) "So, such".

Ninani ubudenge obu nihambe ngenyawo? How is it that you are so silly as to walk on foot?

Nangona uNonesi esiphethe ngobunje ubulumko isizwe sakhe, ebonakalisa nolo lawulo luhle nezi mpembelelo zoxodlo. Although Nonesi ruled her tribe with such prudence, showing such good reign and such influence for peace.

Akukho nto iyileyo yenziweyo. No such thing is done.

(b) "One or another".

Kube nganto leyo kwa nganto leyo bandifiye. So for one thing or another they left me.

(c) *Athi ke olo sizana lungulowo!* (Translation by Tiyo Soga for "Alas, poor man".) Alas, that miserable person who is that!

(d) "Seldom".

Le nto ihla mhla lowo. This happens seldom.

Yinto yamini leyo into enjalo. Such a thing happens seldom.

BLACK MAGIC FEUDS

W. SINGLETON FISHER

MANY of the Lunda people, especially the men, spend a good deal of their time on what may best be termed magical feuds. These feuds consist of a kind of battle between two people with black magic as the weapon.

It generally begins with a quarrel. A man called Maseka has a quarrel with another called Kata. Maseka goes home fuming. When he has calmed down he begins to be afraid. He says to himself: "When I was quarrelling with Kata he threatened me that I would come to a bad end. What did he mean? Ah! I know. He means to put a spell on me. Before he has time to do me any harm I will go to the witch-doctor and get a *musẽũ* (magical horn) made up for me (*ampandili musẽũ*)."

He goes off to the witch-doctor (*chimbukĩ*) ordinary medicine man, or, *katepa* (medicine-man-cum-diviner), taking with him the empty horn of some antelope; duiker, bushbuck, or roanbuck are the most commonly used for this purpose. He tells the witch-doctor his trouble and is told what fee he must pay. If his enemy is a powerful man likely to have strong *nyiseũũ* a big fee will be demanded, perhaps ten *yilala*, (eight-yard strips) of trade calico or even a gun. If Maseka is sufficiently alarmed he will gladly pay the fee or promise to do so giving a token payment in advance. The witch-doctor will then take the empty horn (*luseũũ*) and perhaps spend several days searching for the necessary charms to fill it. These may include pieces of bark from a *mudi* tree on which a man once committed suicide, various stinging insects, bones of rats or other animals believed to have some magic property, all bound together with grease and smeared over the top with charcoal.

Maseka will take the *musẽũũ* home with him and either sleep with it under his pillow or stick it in the ground (sharp point downwards) between

him and the fire. If he has bad dreams in the night he gets up, heats the horn by the fire so that the grease under the charcoal melts slightly. He then dips his finger into the charcoal which has become slightly mixed with the half-melted grease and rubs a little on his temples and chest. This action is called *kudomona*, reflexive of *kwo-mona*. While doing this he will call down disaster upon his enemy, Kata.

If Kata considers that he has magic powerful enough to cope with his enemy and this feeling is confirmed by sound, dreamless sleep he will continue to use his old magical "medicines" against Maseka. If, on the other hand, he begins to have bad dreams in which Maseka figures he will come to the conclusion that Maseka's magic is more powerful than his and will go and consult the witch-doctor and pay heavy fees to have the necessary *nyiseũũ* made. These *nyiseũũ* need not always be horns. Sometimes a tiny gun is carved by the witch-doctor with a tiny wooden bullet blackened in the fire. This is called *wuta wawufuku*. It is carried in the powder box and can be used against an enemy by aiming it in his direction at night and pronouncing against him certain magic words. He will then have a sharp pain in his chest and exclaim: "They have shot me. They have shot me." Most cases of pneumonia are put down to *wuta wawufuku*, so much so that the disease is called *kasa*, from *kwasa*, to shoot. Many times when I have visited a man sick with pneumonia his relatives have solemnly explained to me that the sick man has been shot by a *wuta wawufuku*.

Other items of black magic are *kalañkata*, *ñkala* and *ilomba* the most deadly of all, all of which produce supernatural vindictive familiars.

Kalañkata is the shell of a very large snail. One often sees it in the cages of the canaries the Lunda like to carry round with them, used to

hold water or bird seed. This shell is considered to be capable of becoming a very powerful weapon in magical warfare when properly treated by the witch-doctor. The Lunda say that it will turn into a magical snail and will carry a knife at night and crawl to the intended victim's hut and cut his throat. A severe attack of laryngitis or any pain in the throat might be attributed to this familiar.

Nkala, crab, is considered even more deadly. An empty crab shell is taken to the witch-doctor and filled by him with the necessary charms. It is not clear exactly what is done with the object after this, but the result is that a powerful spirit crab takes up its abode in the river at the crossing nearest to the home of its owner. This crab reaches out its long claws and grabs the shadow (*mwevulu*, also used for the soul) of its intended victim as he crosses the river. It seems that this practice is rarely used and so the people are consequently rather vague as to the symptoms produced by anybody "eaten" by a crab. Death is generally the final result.

Ilomba, invisible water serpent. In the district around Kalene Hill the *ilomba* is greatly feared so I have often come in contact with people supposed to possess one or to be suffering from its attacks. A Lunda friend dug up the "seed" of an *ilomba* in his garden near the head of a small stream. This he brought to me in great excitement, surrounded by a crowd of shouting, greatly agitated men. The seed consisted of a bushbuck horn filled with charms embedded into grease. This I was told was to represent the main body of the *ilomba*. In the opening of the horn, stuck into the mass of grease and charms was a duiker horn filled with the same mixture of charms and grease, into which was pushed a brass cartridge case. This they said was the head of the *ilomba* and the cartridge case was put in to make it invulnerable. The Africans now showed that they had no fear whatever of the charm. They argued that it could do them no harm unless it came to life and that it could only do so when buried in the ground sufficiently near to the head of a stream. They explained, with much laughter, that this particular charm was obviously a dud and that the witch-doctor, who had made

it and had probably collected a large fee, was no doubt a cheat. If the charm, the seed of the *ilomba*, had been a good one a worm would have come out of it which would have wriggled its way down to the stream and have changed rapidly into an invisible serpent. The serpent would take up its abode at the crossing and swallow the shadows of its owner's enemies and grow several hundred yards in length for each shadow swallowed. Those who had their shadows swallowed would become violently ill, vomit sand and die. One day when I was out hunting with a Lunda we came on an old deserted village. I began an inspection of the various huts and other objects of interest, learning all I could about them from my Lunda friend. A deserted village often contains a wealth of material which one can study without arousing suspicion or causing offence to watchful villagers.

One hut contained a deep hole about eighteen inches across. I asked the Lunda what it was. He said that it must be the hole of an *ilomba*. He went on to explain that the *ilomba* was made by a witch-doctor for a man who wished to become powerful in his tribe or who desired to kill certain enemies. The witch-doctor made a charm, *museñu*, full of power magic, which his client buried at the head of a stream. The owner paid regular visits to the spot where he had buried it until one day he found a worm coming out of the ground. Then he knew that the *ilomba* had come to life (*kutetuka*, lit. to crack open, used also of re-incarnation in animal form). He never saw the worm again nor did he expect to, for he knew that the worm had become an invisible snake and had taken up its abode in the stream. Daily he paid visits to the sacred spot where he had seen the worm and made offerings of food. From that time on the *ilomba's* appetite rapidly grows and deaths of puppies are caused by him, then abortions of human beings, then deaths of children and finally of adults. The owner of the *ilomba* is linked to the *ilomba* by indissoluble links, his heart and his *ilomba's* beat in unison. If the *ilomba* dies he dies and vice versa. The owner digs a tunnel from his hut to the stream. The *ilomba* comes up the tunnel at night to converse with its

owner. At first the *ilomba* is the servant of his owner and is occupied in obeying his commands, killing the people whom his owner wants out of the way. He does this by lying at the river crossing and swallowing the shadow of the intended victim who goes home and is taken very ill, vomits sand, and soon dies. With each killing the *ilomba* grows several hundred yards in length. The *ilomba's* appetite grows with success. At each nightly visit to his owner he demands more and more victims, for it is impossible for him to swallow anyone's shadow unless that person is first named to him by his owner. The *ilomba's* demands at first are vague, he will accept anyone whom his owner names but before long he begins to get ideas of his own and asks for dear friends and relatives of his owner to be named as his victims. It appears that the owner is powerless to resist the *ilomba's* demands and so the *ilomba* soon becomes its owner's master excepting that he can never swallow the shadow of a victim unless it is named by its owner. Finally, the *ilomba's* demands become so exorbitant (he will even ask for its owner's favourite wife or dearest child) that the owner will commit suicide rather than accede to them. Lundas are often seen wearing

round their necks fish-hooks or the very sharp horn of the white-backed duiker to prevent the *ilomba* swallowing them. The witch-doctor is called in to the village when the people suspect that deaths are being caused by an *ilomba*. He goes up and down the rivers shaking his rattle and throwing into the water medicine, *nsompu*, made from compounded herbs until the water is agitated and he knows that he has found the *ilomba*. He then shoots it with a *wuta wawufuku*, described above, and comes back to the village with the bones of a python which he shows to the people as a proof of his success. The owner of the *ilomba* always dies suddenly on the death of the *ilomba*. He calls out in great pain: "They have shot me. They have shot me." The only natural explanation we can give of this is that the witch-doctor poisons the suspected *ilomba* owner using a poison from his collection which will insure the man dying in great pain at the correct time.

To return to the feud between Kata and Maseka. The richer of the two continues to make black magic while the poorer man, unable to continue paying the witch-doctor's fees succumbs from superstitious fear, pines and dies.

THE BULL-ROARER AMONG THE IBO

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

"BULL-ROARER, the English name for an instrument made of a small, flat slip of wood, through a hole in one end of which a string is passed; swung round rapidly, it makes a booming, humming noise. Though treated as a toy by Europeans, the bull-roarer has the highest mystic significance and sanctity among primitive people."¹ Its occurrence in paleolithic times and hence its antiquity is a possible explanation for its present wide diffusion.

"Two or three bone bull-roarers of paleolithic times have been discovered and published. Like those of the north and central Australian tribes, they are decorated with incised concentric circles or half circles."² The following extract draws attention to the wide distribution of this instrument.

"A special type of fetish which is illustrative of the extraordinary is the bull-roarer or rhombus, the whirring or humming stick. In ancient Greece, modern Australia, North America, and Africa the instrument is one of sacred purpose. . . . The underlying idea about the bull-roarer is that it is a spirit that makes the noise, and this belief is strongly impressed by every device upon uninitiated women, children, and those who have not passed through the ceremony. . . . The natives on the Loango Coast hear in the sounds produced by the whirring stick the voices of departed spirits, while among the Yoruba the supposed "voice of Oro" proceeds from a small piece of wood actually worshipped as a god."³ The universality of these practices, customs and beliefs associated with the bull-roarer may be seen from the following description which is taken

from Melanesia yet it fits exactly a description of any bull-roarer secret society in Africa.

"Many features of the ritual of initiation depend on the belief that, at this time, the initiate and the group as a whole come into relation with the ghosts of dead ancestors. . . . Certain widespread features of secret associations which have attracted much attention, are definitely connected with the cults of ghosts. The masks, which form prominent objects in our museums are, in many cases, intended to represent ghosts. . . . The masks serve as one of the means by which the secrecy of the proceedings is secured. Another means to this end is the production of certain mysterious sounds, of which that produced by swinging a bull-roarer is the most widespread. This and other sounds are believed by the uninitiated to be the voices of the ghosts."⁴

My notes on the bull-roarer were made in 1930 when I was directed by the Nigerian Government to report on the magico-religious beliefs of the Umundri group of Ibo living in the environs of Awka, the name of an administrative centre, some twenty-five miles east of Onitsha on the Niger, in Southern Nigeria. These notes formed part of a chapter in my thesis for the PH.D. degree of the University of London, 1934.

The earliest mention that I have discovered of this device on the West Coast is by Bowen (1857) when at Abeokuta among the Yoruba. "Early in the morning we heard the voice of Oro in the streets. This is made by whirling a flat stick, tied to a string, swiftly through the air."⁵

The bull-roarer is found among the Ibo as part

¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., IV, p. 374.

² *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, p. 890.

³ SUMNER, W. G., KELLER, A. G., DAVIE, M. R. *The Science of Society*. IV, pp. 479-81. New Haven, 1942.

⁴ RIVERS, W. H. R. *Social Organization*. p. 124. London, 1926.

⁵ BOWEN, J. T. *Central Africa*. p. 138. Charleston, 1857.

of the insignia of a secret society, and consists of a strip of wood about a foot long, an inch to four inches broad, and a quarter to one sixteenth of an inch thick, with a hole at one end, for the insertion of a cord or string which is then tied to a stick and vigorously twirled: the faster the twirling the higher the note.¹ Most of these strips are unornamented. Those that have markings do not exhibit any special design or pattern; nor do the markings have any significance.

Whereas in other places such markings do have significance. "The Apache (Indians of North America) explained that the lines on the front side of the rhombus were the entrails and those on the rear side the hair of their wind god. The hair is of several colours, and represents lightning. . . . The Navaho make the bull-roarer of the same material (a piece of lightning-riven wood) but regard it as representing the voice of the thunder-bird, whose figure they often paint upon it, the eyes being indicated by inset pieces of turquoise."²

Mrs. Batty mentions bull-roarers among the Yoruba. "The supposed 'voice of Oro' proceeds from a small piece of wood, actually worshipped as a god—narrow and tapering at each end—somewhat thinner at the edges than in the middle, about one inch wide and measuring from nearly a foot to three feet in length."³ She then gives an illustration of two such different length *oro* but does not say whether these are regarded as

male and female as is the case elsewhere. "Among seven of these (Australian) tribes a large (male) and a smaller (female) bull-roarer are used; among the Karnai the larger represents Tundun, father of the race, the smaller represents his wife; but the distinction of sex is not said to exist among the Chepora and Turbal."⁴

No mention was made to me that these Ibo bull-roarers were differentiated according to sex.

Two names are recorded for the Yoruba Ogboni bull-roarers of different lengths but there is no indication of sex differentiation. "The bull-roarer of Ogboni has two laths of cam-wood, the wooden parts being called *iske Oro* and the string part *aske Oro*. This society also has a smaller instrument called *oja Oro*, Oro's dog."⁵

The actual instrument at Oreri is called *agu mauy* (i.e. the leopard of the *mauy*). At Akwa, the name is *ogiligile* or *okilikile*. This word comes from a root which means, to circle, or whirl round and round.⁶ The instrument is also called *onu mauy* (the voice of the *mauy*). With this object is found another, called by various names: e.g. *oduo atfalla* at Oreri, *okpili* at Awka; and at Onitsha, *igwe* or *nzu onu* or *okpili*.⁷ FIG. 1. *

This latter instrument is a hollow tube, either of bone or of reed. It may have a central aperture for blowing through, in which case the two open ends are stopped, either with the membrane of a bat's wing, or else with part of the egg-capsule of

¹ ROTH, H. L. *Great Benin*. p. 65. Halifax, 1903. "I (Cyril Punch) never, however, heard (at Benin) the Oro sound, i.e. the noise made in Yoruba land by twisting round a thin tongue of wood attached to a whip lash and handle, i.e. the Bull Roarer."

² SUMNER, KELLER, DAVIE. *The Science of Society*. IV, p. 481. New Haven, 1942.

³ BATTY, B. R. Notes on the Yoruba Country. p. 102, *J.A.I.*, XIX, 1890.

⁴ HASTINGS, J. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. II, p. 890.

⁵ BUTT-THOMPSON, F. W. *West African Secret Societies*. p. 160. London, 1929.

⁶ BURTON, R. F. *Abeokuta and the Cameroon Mountain*. I, p. 197. London, 1863. "This African curfew (*Oro*) is produced by a thin slip of wood, about one foot long by a few inches in breadth, fastened to a stick by a long string which allows it to ascend and descend, thereby raising and lowering the tone." ELLIS, A. B. *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. p. 110. London, 1894. "The voice of Oro is produced by whirling round and round a thin strip of

wood, some 2½ inches broad, 12 inches long, and tapering at both ends, which is fastened to a stick by a long string. It is, in fact, the instrument known to English boys as the 'bull-roarer', and which Mr. Andrew Lang has shown to have been used in the mysteries of Ancient Greece, Australia, New Mexico, New Zealand, and South Africa. (*Custom and Myth*, ANDREW LANG.)"

⁷ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III p. 769. Oxford, 1926. "The bull-roarer, called *Agu Manwu*, or *Maw*, 'the speaker of Maw', or *Odegilligilli*, is always used when the Aiyakka society meets at night." Talbot translates "Agu" as "speaker". I have not been able to confirm this. On the other hand "Agu" is one of the Ibo words for a leopard, and leopards are regarded either as animal familiars of chiefs or else as chiefs in leopard form, i.e. there is a connection between the leopard and the chief ancestral spirit.

* The photographs in this article were taken by the Burroughs Wellcome Historical Medical Museum of material collected by me with finances kindly supplied by the Museum. The material is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

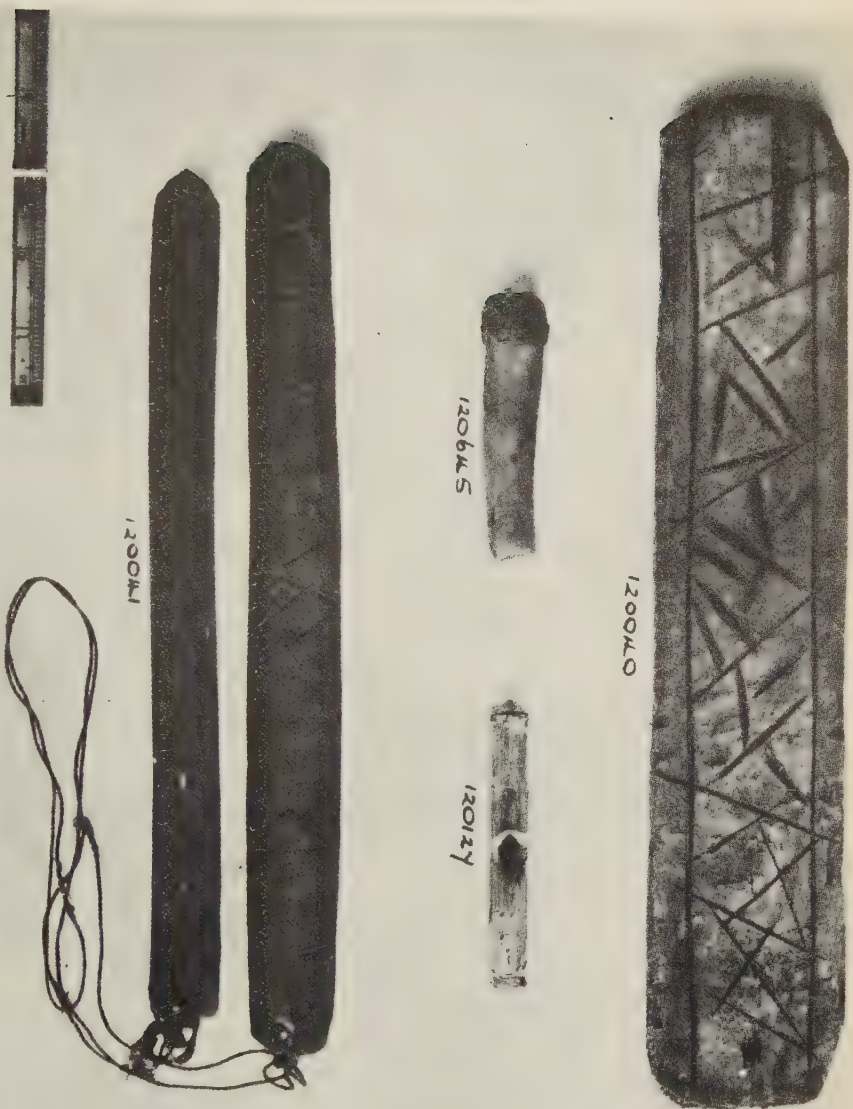


FIG. 1.—*Agu Mang* or *Ogiligile* and *Odoo, Agalla*.

There are three "bull-roarers" and two of the mouth instruments. The left mouth instrument is open at the top and stopped at the bottom. The right instrument is open in the middle and stopped at both ends.

an egg-carrying spider.¹ The instrument is then placed accross the mouth, i.e. with the central aperture in the mouth, and the two stopped ends sticking out on either side.

If one end of the tube is placed in the mouth, then the other end will be stopped in the same manner as for the central aperture instrument. The combination of bull-roarer with a speaking reed is found elsewhere.²

Connected with these strange objects i re tecas society called the *Mm̩*.³ The earliest reference to the use of this term that I have found is the following: "I plainly told him [Prince Tschukerma of Aboh on the Niger] that I was not accustomed to 'dash' medicine until I knew for what cause it was required. This seemed to satisfy the old gentleman for he told me that his wife had been making 'gomhor', and that she had very unfeminine thoughts in her head, to dispel which the gods had counselled her to apply to me for an emetic, for the purpose of making her disgorge whatever foods she might have eaten that day. . . ." ⁴

*G̩ mm̩*⁵ is the idiomatic expression to consult the *mm̩* or spirits. As a consequence of my

enquiries among these Ibo into their magico-religious beliefs I was dubbed "*G̩ Mm̩*".

The *Mm̩* society is essentially a cult of the dead. The Ibo, like many other African peoples, conceive of the human being as composed of three parts: the *t̩fi*, shadow, soul, spirit; the *mm̩*, the ghost, or "revenant"; the *aru*, or physical body.

The *t̩fi*⁶ is connected with the sun. It is the *t̩fi* which is the vital spark, which gives life to the body and which, at death, returns to *t̩fi*, the sun. This *t̩fi* may be reborn again in some descendant of the *umunna* wherein was born the body which this *t̩fi* had previously animated. This concept of the *t̩fi* returning to the sun at death and being reborn again should be compared with the "pool soul" discussed by Mr. Munday⁷ and also with a similar belief among the contiguous Ibibio.⁸

A startling similarity can be discerned in the beliefs of the Balovale described by Mr. White.⁹ Among these people the *Akishi* plays the same rôle that the *t̩fi* does among the Ibo. The *akishi* can be reborn and can animate several people simultaneously. The *akishi* like the *t̩fi* is sexless.

¹ THOMAS, N. M. *Report: Ibo-speaking Peoples*. Part I, p. 42. London, 1913. Writing of the *maun*, Northcote Thomas remarks: "They usually speak in a whistling sort of tone, and this is produced by taking a small piece of wood in the mouth with spider web at each end."

² MEEK, C. K. *Northern Nigeria*. II, p. 19. Oxford, 1925. "The Dodo is the embodiment, it would seem, of the spirits of the dead, and principally of the spirit of the founder of the village or tribe. He is at once the social mentor and the guardian spirit. . . . Real men usually play the part of the Dodo. . . . They wear masks, for they usually represent the spirits of the dead. The Galambe Dodo is clothed in a white cloth and a white ram's skin is thrown over the head. When he appears he carries a cane and chastises evil doers, disrespectful women, and those troubled with evil spirits. . . . The cry of the Dodo is made by blowing through a tube, over the end of which is fixed a piece of spider's web. The bull-roarer is also used for this purpose."

³ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, pp. 767, 769. Oxford, 1926. Talbot speaking of the *Mm̩* society suggests it is of Igala origin. "Among some Ika and et Onitsha it appears probable that the actual rites were derived from the Igara, since it is at the towns of Alla (Illah) and Ebu, which were founded by them, that the society is most powerful. . . . At Nri there is a Manwu Club, which seems to have been introduced by the Igara."

⁴ COLE, W. *Life on the Niger*. p. 12. London, 1862.

⁵ "*G̩ mm̩*—to worship idols with kola nut." (Church

Missionary Society's typed Ibo Dictionary. Awka, 1930.) The above translation is incorrect. *G̩ mm̩* does not mean worshipping idols but spirits.

⁶ "*T̩fi* = (1) God. (2) A sort of guardian deity created by the *t̩fi* and set apart for a child at its birth, each person thus having his own *t̩fi*. *T̩fi* the creator is usually distinguished from the rest by the adjective *ukwu* or *uku* meaning "great", or the verb (*e*)*ke* = to create. E.g. *T̩fi ukwu* shortened to *T̩fukwu* or *T̩fuku*, and *Chineke*. (3) A small tree planted in or near a person's dwelling place to represent his *t̩fi*. (4) Day light. There is evidence that the sun (*Amwu* or *Anyia Amwu* = eye of *Amwu*) was formerly regarded either as *T̩fi Ukwu* or his eye, and worshipped accordingly." (Church Missionary Society's typed Ibo Dictionary, at Awka, 1930.)

⁷ MUNDAY, J. T. "Spirit Names among the Central Bantu", *African Studies*. Vol. 7 No. 1, 1948, p. 41.

⁸ Hope Waddell gives an account of how an Ibibio Abia-Idiong took steps to see whether a sick man was destined to recover. "He placed a basin of water in the open yard, and made every one retire a space while he watched the playing of the sun's rays, the lights and shadows on its surface. He watched, he said, the shadow of the sick man, but could not charm it to him. It flitted round the basin, but would not enter; and finally flew away to the sun." (WADDELL, H. M. *Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa*. p. 548. London, 1863.)

⁹ WHITE, C. M. N. "Notes on some metaphysical concepts of the Balovale Tribes", *African Studies*. Vol. 7 No. 4, 1948, p. 146.

A *tfi* that animated a female may later animate a male, just as the *akishi* may and then there is the strange similarity in the roots *akishi* and *tfi uku*.

At death the body is interred and moulders into the soil but its personality, the *mm̩* or ghost after the induction ceremony, usually and wrongly called the "second burial" goes to *ebe-mm̩*, the place of the dead. That this *ebe-mm̩* is in the nether regions, under the earth, is clearly demonstrated by the Ibo use of the *ɔfo*—a cult object. The *ɔfo* is regarded as the intermediary between the living and the two spirit worlds. When prayers are addressed to the spirit world the *ɔfo* is first tapped on the ground to attract the attention of the *mm̩*. Also, be it noted that when the *mm̩* reappear they are supposed to come up out of the ground. The *ɔfo* is now raised on high and pointed to the sun and sky and the spirits of the sky invoked. Thus, the Ibo invoke the spirits of the earth and sky in their prayers. The *mm̩* is never reborn but it revisits the earth sometimes. The following is an account written by an Ibo on the *mm̩*. "The native pagans regard the *mm̩* in front of their woman folk as a living spirit which only comes out on certain occasions. Its real meaning is revealed to boys above the age of ten. Before a boy is shown what the *mm̩* is, his whole idea is that the *mm̩* is one of the departed spirits in the family and this is the reason he is not shown it during the day time. The same

idea prevails among the women who also think that the *mm̩* is really a dead person who afterwards comes out again."¹

The *mm̩* is impersonated by a member of the kindred, whose disguise is a complete costume and mask. "In many cases the head-dresses consist of human masks, which appear to have originally represented the ancestors who had returned to life for the occasion."²

The society aims at impersonating the *mm̩* of the dead and so might be called "The ghosts".³ A more usual term is "The Maskers", for in the old days, it was death for a masker to become exposed. The masonic use of handgrips, such as the "slip" or the "lion-grip" and others are still employed to ascertain whether a *mm̩* were an initiate or an imposter.⁴ The grades and divisions may not be found widely distributed, the cult is found everywhere and its practices do not vary much.

The society is secret in that no woman or slave is allowed to become a member or to see any of its activities, and also in that all its mysteries are not revealed to all members. It follows that there are grades in this society.

The duties and activities of these grades divide the society into two, those relating to day-time exploits, and those occurring at night.

At Onitsha this *M̩* society is divided into three grades. The first grade contains the following classes:—⁵

(c) An Adamorisha who falls down at play is liable to a heavy fine; or if he fails to give his watch-word; or if he fails to give appropriate answers to some problematic remarks which every qualified Adamorisha is expected to know, he may be flogged or kept under restraint until a certain fine is paid.

(d) Every Adamorisha is expected to salute a person first with his staff (called *Opabata*) and then he grips the other's hand in a peculiar way known to the members of the society. In case of failure he may be flogged or fined. But his identity is essential to show whether the man in the garb has been initiated into the mysteries of the society or not. If it is proved that he is a member of the society and that his failure is due to forgetfulness, he may be reprimanded or fined. But if it becomes clear that he has never been initiated and that his assumption of the garb is a fraud, he is at once kept under restraint and severely dealt with by a heavy fine in money, cattle, or drinkables. He may then be initiated when he will be eligible as a member."

⁵ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 768. Oxford, 1926. "The society goes by different names. At Awka and its neighbourhood there is a variety called *Aiyakka*, of which all the ceremonies are carried out in the dark."

¹ D. Akilo of Owa town, Udi district.

² TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 755. Oxford, 1926.

³ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 767. Oxford, 1926. "Among some of the Ika it (a secret society) is called *Egungun*, but generally goes by the Ibo name of *Maw* (*Mmaw* or *Mwaw*), 'soul' since the performers are, or were, supposed to be the dead returned to earth to assure their families of their safe arrival and happiness in the spirit land."

⁴ AJISAFE, A. K. *Laws and Customs of the Yoruba*. p. 91. London, 1924. "The *Egungun* or the Adamorisha. These are believed to be the spirits of departed souls and must be regarded as such. They go about in masks and are covered from head to foot. The mask may be part of the dress itself or it may be a separate veil.

(a) It is death for an *Egungun* or Adamorisha to expose his face to view.

(b) He is privileged to enter any house, and when he goes out he is quite free to use his whip, staff, or club, and he is not blamable for any damage done by him. He may whip, flog, or beat anyone who stands in his way; and he must be presented with gifts by the owner or inmates of any house visited or entered by him.

Ayaka.

Mmo ogonogo or *mmo afia*.

Nnukwu mmo.

The second grade is composed of :

Oyulugbe.

Ulagu.

Otuiche.

While the third has in it :

Otakili.

Udu.

A description of the duties and activities of each grade makes it easier to understand the society and to fix its place in Ibo social life.

Grade 1

The Ayaka is composed of strong young men (*okolobia*), armed with spears and medicine (magic), who come out at about 11 p.m. and disappear again before dawn. The Ayaka are mainly active in the dry or Harmattan season, December to March. This is the period of bush fires and these fires are presumed to disturb the dead who manifest themselves by wandering about. The *mmo* are supposed to tumble out of the circumambient air, and its members will climb trees and beat drums from them, or sing in disguised voices, from heights in order to maintain the fiction of being air-borne ghosts. As the deception practised is, that these night dancers are wandering *mmo* enjoying themselves, it is necessary to observe secrecy of personal movements. Hence, boys or youths, unable to leave and return to their compounds (*ngulu*) at night without disturbing its members, or letting the women folk know of their goings out and comings in, are excluded. A member must be of an age to have his own room, independent of other persons, and he must be physically fit, so as to be able to move about without the aid of lanterns. He must be able to withstand cold,

rain and lack of sleep, for these night ghosts, unlike their day-time representations, are lightly, almost scantily clad. They wear a head-dress to conceal the *oduo atfalla* or mouth flute, and a small loin cloth.¹

As the head of an *umunna* or lineage can get into touch only with the ancestral spirits of that *umunna*, so the *mmo*, because they are ghosts can, as members of the Ayaka, demand gifts only from blood relatives: hence the Ayaka moves about in the village demanding gifts from blood relatives of its members. For the head of an *umunna* to refuse to meet the demands of the Ayaka would be to court disaster to his homestead.

In a large town there will be several groups of these *mmo*, and if, in their nocturnal peregrinations, two such groups meet, there is no giving way: a fight ensues and for this reason also the members must be strong and fit.² The use of the bull-roarer is restricted to the Ayaka division and is only used at night. To produce its full effect it is necessary, in order to increase the speed of whirling and therefore the sound, to turn the body rapidly round and round, in wild leaps. The performer must be strong enough to do so, without becoming giddy and falling to the ground. At night, all the members use the *oduo atfalla*, when speaking or singing. Each man carries four or five because, when they get wet with use, they fail to produce any sound, and must be replaced with dry ones. In addition, other musical instruments are employed, such as wooden gongs (*uwie*), and metal ones (*ogene*). The whole musical effect is weird and unearthly. The description of sounds as "ghostly music", would be correct in Igbo.

No *nditfi*, *i.e.* titled persons, take part in these night proceedings, as it is considered to be beneath their dignity to do so. The society will visit the houses of senior men who have retired

termed Asaa, and the priest, who cuts a big yam into two at the moment of sacrifice, the *Ndiji*."

² BASDEN, G. T. *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 239. London, 1921. "During the earlier part of the Ayakka season, each section (or ward) of a town observes its own ceremonies. Should companies from two different villages select the same night for their enterprise, and should they happen to meet; fierce fighting ensues; neither side will give way to the other until forced to do so."

¹ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, III, p. 769. Oxford, 1926. "The final rites in Aiyakka and most Maw Societies, are termed Ikpu-Ani, after the place where sacrifices are offered to the Earth Goddess. The remaining secrets are revealed to the aspirants inside the room, generally called Ekuru, where the paraphernalia of the club are kept. He is here, after a ceremonial flogging, shown how to put on the costume and to use the Igwe mouth instrument. The shrine in which offerings are made for the Maw, is usually

from it, and notifies its intention by whirling a bull-roarer, to clear away all women and non-members.

No woman is allowed to see these night proceedings. To do so, would, in the old days, have meant death and even to-day the women would most likely be seriously assaulted. The dancers and players, on these visits, are usually rewarded with a present of a few yams and some cowries. Full members are called *uliaja mauny*, i.e. indispensable members, or those strong enough to remove any black-magic kept hidden by enemies.

The *Mmo Ogonogo* or *Mmo Afia* is a solitary individual, and appears in the day time. He is in attendance at all funeral ceremonies and celebrations for the deaths of titled, or important persons.¹ The figure presented to the spectators is that of a long, tall, formless, draped object, eight to ten feet high, which slowly moves along. It wears no mask and its general air of sadness and dejection is supposed to indicate that the lamentations of the living have penetrated to the realms of the dead (*ebe-mmo*). As a consequence the *ndimmo* (ghosts) have sent one of their members, the *mmo ogonogo*, to lead the *mmo* of the deceased to the spirit land. The *mmo ogonogo* will therefore either proceed to the coffin or to the edge of the grave before halting. There he performs numerous rites, sings and chants through the *nzu onu* and in this disguised voice laments over the deceased.

At the "second burial", as is wrongly called the ceremony of the induction of the deceased

into the realms of the nether world, the deceased himself appears as a *mauny* (impersonated by some relative who is a member of the *mmo* society) for his last visit on earth among the members of his family. He is escorted from his grave in his house by one or more *mauny* who have arrived to lead him away. Before departing he literally gives "ghostly counsel" to his surviving family, admonishing wayward wives, and calling upon all to observe the ancient customs and practices, and to conserve the family property and possessions.²

The *nnukwu mmo* appears to be only a variant of the preceding one. The differences between the two, are, that the costume in the *nnukwu mmo* is heavier, and that with it goes a carved wooden mask. The mask is generally made as ferocious looking as possible; and in those where the teeth are large and prominent, as in a snarling leopard, the *mmo* is called *mmo otaka agu*. The performer looks out through the interstices of the teeth.

On account of its large size, the *nnukwu mmo* is also called, *ugo na bu*. Its size suggests a departed ghost that has been well looked after and well fed. It is thus a reminder to the family of the deceased to look after the ghost of the departed, so that it also may acquire a prosperous appearance in *ebe mmo*. This *nnukwu mmo* appears on the death of a wealthy man and usually stamps about, armed with a large knife and a rope trailing from its waist.

Grade II

The second grade, the Oyulugbe, unlike the first which is a funerary *mmo* is concerned with

¹ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III p. 768. Oxford, 1926. "He (the 'Maw') is always an object of awe; even if not actually believed to be a dead man temporarily returned to life, as was formerly the case, it is certainly thought that, through the rites which have been undergone, he is obsessed by the spirit of one of these."

² BASDEN, G. T. *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. p. 124. London, 1921. Basden gives a good account of such a burial: "For a man of first rank the second burial rites are prolonged for several days. On the day following the burial of the Ibawudu the ceremony of *ozu-olu* begins. The signal for this is the appearance twice a day (morning and evening) of the *maw-afia* (spirits of the Olu people). All spirits (*maws*) are supposed to rise out of the ground. . . ."

These quaint apparitions (*maw-afia*) are men disguised in grotesque fashion, with their bodies completely enveloped in cloth, and uttering peculiar sounds

by means of air instruments fixed between their teeth. To the excited audience these are verily believed to be figures animated by spirits from the underworld. For four consecutive days the programme varies little, and then comes the formal visit to the grave of the deceased chief. The noise and excitement reaches the utmost pitch, all the relatives (of the deceased) crying out 'Welcome, Welcome to our father', until, suddenly, firearms are discharged and the *maw-afia* appear escorting the 'spirit' of the dead man from his house, beneath the floor of which his body lies buried. On his return to this world the 'spirit' walks slowly, with tottering, uncertain steps, and muttering words with a feeble voice—his speech being disguised similarly to that of the *maw-afia*. The poor 'spirit' is as yet weak from its enforced imprisonment in the grave, it needs time and food to recover its lost strength. Meanwhile the escorting *maw-afia* are busily engaged in dusting down the 'spirit' to remove the earth stains of the grave."



FIG. II.—*Isi Mauṇ*.—Various forms of masks used by the *mauṇ*.

happiness and the joys of life.¹ Its members are the cheerful *mm̩*, and appear during the day-time after the feast of New Yams.²

They accordingly usher in a period of rejoicing and feasting, and are regarded as the brightest children of the *mm̩*. Consequently, they are elaborately and expensively dressed. The carved wooden masks, which show a high degree of skill, are obtained from the Awka wood-carvers. These *mm̩* are the day-time dancers and singers, and use the *oduo atfalla* in their mouths when speaking.

The Ulaga and the Otuiche are variants of the Oyulugbe. The Ulaga dancers wear a lighter dress in order not to be hampered when dashing about. This costume is usually donned by agile foot-runners, who, armed with whips, lash all non-members they meet.

The Otuiche differs from the preceding *mm̩* in that there is no mask to the costume. This lack of a mask enables the dancer to cut capers, and to turn somersaults easily. They get their names of *otuiche* (The Throwers) from their practice of hurling missiles at non-members. This grade of *mm̩* make their appearance about September and continue to provide amusement and entertainment until about January, and are much in evidence at the Onitsha king's feast of *ofala* in September.

A feature of all these varieties of *mm̩*, with the exception of the Ayaka, is that the whole body of the performer is completely covered by the costume he wears. Many of these costumes are made from netted-cord or fibre. With some of these costumes go masks of persons or of animals. As these apparitions are supposed to come from the land of the dead the masks are usually, but

not invariably, painted white.³ FIG. II shows a set of these masks.

No. 120763 does not belong to this series, while No. 120761 has four knopped tufts on the head, of these four tufts only two are visible in the photograph.

All these robed-figures, whether with or without, masks are supposed to be ghosts of the nether world. Those with masks are called *Mau* (Maw), *Mwaun* or *Mwaungwu* which is the Ibo word for mask. The mask, when worn, is called *isi mangwu*. The close similarity in the sounds of the words *maun* and *mm̩* which the *Mau* impersonates, has led to a confusion in European minds about these figures.⁴ The *mm̩* is a generic name for a secret society whose maskers are called *maun*.

Now the *maun*, unlike the *mm̩* impersonated by the Ayaka, are said to rise from the ground, to have come straight from *ebe-mm̩*. The uninitiated, and the general public, are informed that the *maun* uses as his passage of egress, the hole made in the ground by the small black-ant called *arruru*. Such a hole will be ringed round with white clay, and pointed out as the aperture, from which the *maun* arises in the darkness of the night, before making his daylight appearance. This hole must not be confused with that made by the large, stinging, black ant which moves about in columns, and is described by the Ibo as going to market. Other versions give out that the *maun* rises out of the earth through a white-ant mound.

In all these appearances the *maun* comes up from the earth to revisit this world from the land of the ghosts (*ebe-mm̩*). Such figures are always completely robed. The robes must cover every part of the body. In the case of the masked dancer,

¹ THOMAS, N. W. *Report: Ibo Speaking Peoples*. Part I, p. 41. London, 1913. "Masked figures called *maun* appear at various times, especially in June and run round with a whip, sometimes throwing down yams for *Agu*; a *maun* is held to be a dead man and his real nature is carefully concealed from the women."

² TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 768. Oxford, 1926. Talbot writes to much the same purpose. "Throughout the rest of Igboland the *Maw* ceremonies usually take place at certain fixed periods in the year as well as at the 'second burial' rites."

³ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 768. Oxford, 1926. "Some (masks) are given regular

features very much like Egyptian patterns; the face is always painted white, to enhance the idea of the supernatural; it must be something quite different from the ordinary mortal." BASDEN, G. T. *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. p. 236. London, 1921. "Nearly all masks are painted white, like the clay statues of ancestors in *Mbari* houses, and some are of very great interest and display undoubted Egyptian traits."

⁴ THOMAS, N. W. *Report: Ibo-speaking Peoples*. Part I p. 42. London, 1913. "The word *maun* seems to be derived from *mwa*, person (not found) and *onwu*, dead; just as *mwadu* (man) is derived from the same, and *do* or *du*, living."

the mask is often worn on the top of the head.¹ Both the masked and the unmasked *maun* always have the voice disguised by the use of an *oduo atfalla* placed in the mouth. The resulting noise is a thin chirping sound which is supposed to be the thin piping voice of the voiceless dead.² When the mask is worn on the head the voice would seem to come from the region of the armpits of the figure. These remarks throw light on the "ob" or "familiar spirit" of the Old Testament.

The witch of En-dor calls up Samuel as a god, from out the ground.³

Those who have familiar spirits and the wizards are said to chirp and to mutter:⁴ while the ability of such wizards and spirits to speak from the armpits is recorded in Jewish tradition.⁵

Grade III

The third grade is restricted to the masked plays and dances performed by young boys. The displays do not really belong to the category of the *mm̃*, and are merely pantomimic imitations of the *mm̃* dances. They are a means of becoming acquainted with the *mm̃* costumes and dances. The costume for *otakile* is usually of red cloth,

while that of *udu*, consists of a dress, often made of old banana leaves tied together.

It was not ascertained whether the society as a whole had any *nso* (taboo) animal. It is probable that a variety of monkey was formerly a food *nso*, for, among the following Ibo towns Nise, Uga-Isuofia, Uranebo, Nanika, Ibeledu and Akpugu, the monkey, called *Ozili-Ogbodu-Maun*, is not eaten. Now the above Ibo name of this monkey means, "A revealer to the uninitiated of what the *Maun* really is."⁶

In the account given of the ritual appearance of the various forms and types of the ghosts of the dead, the solitary figure, the revenant, the *maun* whether with a mask, or without one, may be merely a ghostly visitant, or a specific ghost, e.g. of the deceased. Among the Yoruba, a similar society, the Egun, exists. The ghost of the deceased likewise appears at his own funeral, as an Egun. He is, also, attended by another Egugun. This second figure fulfills among the Yoruba the rôle played by the *maun* among the Ibo. Among the Yoruba and among the Ibo each arrives to escort the deceased to the land of the dead. In the capacity of the ghost of the deceased, the Egun gives

people seek unto their God? On behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead?"

⁵ *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Vol. IX. Article "Necromancy". p. 204. Professor Ludwig Blau declares: "ob is said to denote the sooth-saying spirit . . . or the ghost of the dead. . . . Jewish tradition says: Ob is the python, who speaks from his armpits." [As both the python and the spirits of the dead rise from the ground here is a common instance of personification, just as a king is called a lion, or leopard or a "son of the sun". The python issuing from the ground is identified with the ghost issuing from the earth, the land of the dead. That it is an instance of personification can be seen from the fact that the voice is said to issue from the armpits. An "ob" as a python has neither voice nor armpits, but an "ob" as a "revenant", or resurrected ghost appearing robed, masked and chirping, would seem to speak from its armpits. M.J.]

⁶ JOHNSON, O. *The History of the Yorubas*. p. 29. London, 1921. In this connection attention is drawn to the Yoruba belief that the voice of the Egugun, which is, among them, the analogue of what the *Maun* is among the Ibo, is the voice of a species of monkey. "This feigned voice is said to be in imitation of that of a species of monkey called Ijimre. That animal is regarded with superstitious reverence, the power of walking erect and talking being ascribed to it and is esteemed a clever physician. Some professed 'medicine men' usually tame and keep one of these creatures, and pretend to receive instructions and inspirations from it."

¹ TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 768. Oxford, 1926. "The images are entirely covered by voluminous clothes, the upper part often composed of some knitted material. . . . A wooden mask is used, which is at times placed on top of the man's head so as to give him increased height, while he himself looks out through narrow slits below."

² ELLIS, A. B. *The Yoruba speaking peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. p. 103. London, 1894. "Sometimes, in response to the appeal of the priest, the god answers in a bird-like twittering voice, first heard whispering at a little distance and then coming nearer. When this occurs, the worshippers lie prone with their faces on the ground, awe-stricken, while the priest carries on a conversation with the spirit-voice and subsequently interprets it to the auditors. This conception that a spirit-voice should be a twittering, chirping, or whistling sound is very wide-spread; as Dr. Tylor has shown, it used to exist among the Greeks and Romans, and it may at the present day be found among the Indian tribes of North America, the Zulus, and the Polynesians (*Primitive Culture*. I, p. 452). The spirit voice is no doubt produced by a confederate priest, by means of a blade of grass, or a leaf, placed between the teeth."

³ I. *Samuel*. Chap. 28, v. 13-14. "And the woman said unto Saul, I see a god coming up out of the earth. And he said unto her, What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe."

⁴ *Isaiah*. Chap. 8, v. 19. "And when they shall say unto you, Seek them that have familiar spirits and unto he wizards, that chirp and that mutter; should not a

ghostly counsel to the members of his sorrowing family and then departs.¹ There is, however, a head of the society, who impersonates a general ghost, and is then known as Agan, and so would correspond with the *mauy* of the Ibo. It is his duty to execute women accused of witch-craft and those proved guilty of murder, etc.

The Egugun society also impersonates the spirits of the departed at harvest festivals, and, as among the Ibo, are then heralds of a time of gladness and plenty.² Frobenius took the view that the Egugun's appearance at a funeral was the appearance of the deceased himself.³

The *mmɔ* society recruits its members from the influential families of the town. In the old days, the Ayaka branch performed the functions of police and saw that the orders of the *ɔɔ*-titled men, i.e. the town-rulers, were carried out. Private individuals could invoke the aid of the society. Thus, if a man took a wife without paying the dowry, the aggrieved party could hire out

the *mmɔ*, who would confiscate the delinquent's property and detain it until the dispute was settled. In pre-Government days, any person who revealed the secrets was killed, it is said, by being burnt to death, but more probably, the society either strangled him or sold him into slavery.

To-day, as the necessity which had maintained the existence of the society, has been replaced by Christianity and British law and order, the society has decayed. It now continues mostly as a means of entertainment.

Ordinary membership was obtained by paying to the society the following fees.

1 *ite* (large native earthenware pot) of palm wine.

8 Large yams.

24 Kolas.

48 Cowries.

This entrance fee ensured protection against the assaults and batteries of the members when playing. When the masked dancers and members

a kind of cake made of beans and palm oil (*Olele*) in the month of February, after the beans harvest in January, and the Egugun anniversary is usually held in the month of May or June. . . . This anniversary is the time of reunion among absent friends and relatives.

The town then puts on its best appearance, the streets are everywhere cleaned and put under repairs, and the citizens appear abroad in their holiday dress.

The celebration is usually preceded on the eve of the festival by a vigil termed in Yoruba 'Ikunle' or the *kneeling*, because the whole night is spent in kneeling and praying in the grove set apart for Egugun worship, invoking the blessings and the aid of the departed parent. . . . The festival is continued for seven days, and on the eighth day there is another gathering at the chief Alagba's and the festivities are brought to a close with games, sports and a display of magic tricks." MEEK, C. K. *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*. II, p. 115. London. 1931. "A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom that links the Morwa with the semi-Bantu-speaking groups."

³ FROBENIUS, L. *The Voice of Africa*. Vol. I, p. 199. London, 1913. "Another is Egun or Egugun. Egun is at first a mask. At a person's death and his funeral, the shroud is removed from the body once more before being for ever hidden. A wooden mask has been prepared and assumed by one of the mourners, who, wrapping the shroud around him, dances among the relatives, speaks to them in the piping treble of the dead so represented, consoles, exhorts and talks with them concerning work and so on. This Egun dancer is regarded as a direct personification of the departed. This mask is set up when offerings are made to the shade and it is assumed that it receives them itself."

¹ JOHNSON, O. *The History of the Yorubas*. pp. 137-9. London, 1921. "On the 13th or 17th day the final ceremony is thus performed. . . . At dead of night a man goes and sits on the roof of the house of the deceased; another who is to personate the dead is secreted in the back-yard, but within hearing distance of the former: a third is the Egugun called Agan undressed, coming in the Alagba's company, speaking in a hollow, but thrilling tone of voice, crying out, 'E gbe mi' (do lift me up). Immediately several voices are heard 'Lift here, Lift there', as if they were carrying the Agan and found him rather heavy. . . . The Agan is then conducted to the piazza of the deceased where the special ceremony is performed. He sings out distinctly the name of the deceased so that the substitute might hear him, at the same time warning him not to answer to his call, but to that of the man on the roof. The latter then strikes the hoe in his hand with the cutlass as a signal to attract the attention of the secreted substitute. After this, he calls out in loud tones the name of the deceased as did the Agan. He calls out three times, and at the third call, which is also the last, a still small voice is heard from the counterfeit, simulating that of the dead. At this stage, the widows and all the other mourners begin to weep and wail for the dead. . . ."

On the following morning, the Egugun of the deceased, appears in his usual dress, with an attendant Egugun, both emerging from the Alagba's house. He proceeds to his old home where a mat is spread outside to receive him. He embraces all his children, sits them by turn on his knees, and blesses them, promising to bestow health, strength, long life and the rest. . . .

This is the last farewell between the deceased and his family if we except the supposed annual visits made by the former during the Egugun festivals."

² JOHNSON, O. *The History of the Yorubas*. pp. 30-1 London, 1921. "Eguguns are generally worshipped with

are playing in the day-time, all women and non-members are assaulted, if caught by the *maun*. Ordinary membership entitles the member to attach himself to the rabble that follows the masked dancer, when thus playing. Active membership is restricted to youths, young men, and men in the early thirties. After that age they retire from participation in the society.

The society has a house in which the insignia and accoutrements of the masker and other dancers are kept. This house is called the *onu maun* (den, hole, lair of the *maun*). In this house, full membership is conferred upon a selected candidate. The club room of the *mmo* is called the *okwule* and there the paraphernalia of the society is kept. The disguise worn by the *mmo* is called *akpa*, while the special, wooden gong is called *uba* and is used at the induction ceremony or "second burial". The leaders of the society are called *okuta*.

When candidates apply for admission, the society assembles at the house of the senior member, who is called *iji maun* or *dibuno*. The candidates pay their fees. The *dibuno* then provides a fowl which is killed in sacrifice. A small hole is dug in the ground, and the blood allowed to flow into it. This ceremony is called the *iji we du ana maun*, i.e. what is taken and placed on the ground of the *maun*.

Then follows a testing of a candidate's staunchness and reliability, before the secrets of the society

are revealed to him. Not all candidates are admitted into full membership. Those whom the members regard as resolute characters, not given to gossip, are tested to see whether they can hold their tongues.

Such candidates are taken to the *onu maun*, and there the masked dancer, the *maun*, whip in hand, stands with his legs apart. The candidate for full membership is stripped and then has to crawl through the *maun's* legs. While he is so employed his bare behind is lashed by the *maun*. As soon as the candidate has crawled through, the *maun* jumps round, and the candidate must crawl through his legs again, and again be whipped. This process is repeated eight times, and during this ordeal the candidate must not once wince or cry aloud.¹

There appear to be other steps in the initiation but these were not divulged. The candidate on becoming a full member is told the secrets of the society. These are an explanation of how the fakes are maintained, and how the noise of the *agu maun* is produced. The candidate is then allowed to make and use his own *agu maun*. The manner of speaking with the *oduo atfalla* in the mouth is divulged. The name of the special person who appears as the *maun* is also told to the candidate. It is explained that he is supposed to rise up out of the ground, and to announce himself through his *oduo atfalla*.² The member is also taught the special *maun* songs and method of

The final rites, in Aiyakka and most Maw societies, are termed Ikpu-Ani after the place where sacrifices are offered to the Earth Goddess. The remaining secrets are revealed to the aspirants inside the room, generally called Ekura, where the paraphernalia of the club are kept. He is here, after a ceremonial flogging, shown how to put on the costumes and to use the Igwe mouth instrument."

² BARDEN, G. T. *Niger Ibos*. pp. 373, 374. London, 1938. "They (the novices) are made to understand that having been borne down into the underworld, they will be forced to remain there. Also that in order to reach the house of the spirits, they must pass via the hole of an *Agbisi* (a tiny insect) and, after that, they will be required to cross a very wide river with no more than a thread to serve as a bridge. To negotiate this dangerous crossing safely, the help of friends is necessary, and this help can be given only on condition that worthy payments are forthcoming. . . . There is a further ceremony to be observed known as 'ikpu ani' (lit. to dive underground, the word used in initiating the candidate into the secrets and mysteries of the Maw)."

¹ MEEK, C. K. *Northern Nigeria*. Vol. II, pp. 18-21. Oxford, 1925. Compare Dr. Meek's account. "The novices are soundly flogged, and their shrieks strike terror into the women and children of the village. Each youth is then asked if he's seen the *dodo*, and, before he can reply a member of the cult blows the tube and says, I myself am the '*dodo*'. Then, handing the young man the tube, he says, 'And henceforth you yourself are the *dodo* too'. But none may use his tube unless he has the special permission of the head of the cult, for a too-free use of the instrument might arouse suspicion among the uninitiated." TALBOT, P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. III, p. 769. Oxford, 1926. "The initiating ceremonies are long and involved. The first section is named 'Iba-na-Maw—Entering into the spirit (world)', and sometimes a member is called by the same name. The proceedings take place in darkness, and the aspirants lie with their faces touching the ground while the image steps over them. They are then supposed to take a journey to the land of the dead, from which they are brought back by the kind offices of the initiates, who subsequently demand presents for their services.

singing. If a member is heard singing these songs in the day-time, or at night, when no play is on, he is taken to the *onu maun* and there punished. The night songs are quite different from those sung in the day.

During the day, the only person allowed to use the *oduo atfalla* is the masked dancer and the *maun*. Non-members are called *agbode* or are described as *obodulu malu maun omaro ivediakwa nime*, i.e. non-member knows masked dancer but does not know that contained in a cloth.

This term is also applied to ordinary members, who, however, are usually referred to as *uku maun*, i.e. the great children of *maun*.

Precedence in the society is fixed by seniority in entering and becoming a full member. This seniority decides the order in which sacrifices made, or things collected, are divided up.

The fees, sacrifices, or collections obtained from dancing are divided into three lots. The *dibuno* takes one lot, and *onyifi maun* takes another, and the rest is shared by the members there present. No shares are reserved for absentees.

These remarks may be briefly summed up by saying that the *maun* is both the masked dancer of the *mmɔ* society and, like the Yoruba Egugun, is also the ghost of a deceased revisiting the living.¹ In this latter aspect the 'maun' of the Ibo does not appear to differ in any material point from the 'ob' or familiar spirit, conjured up by the witch of Endor.²

The *mmɔ* are the ghosts of the dead who in the persons of the *Mmɔ* secret society revisit the earth at night and by means of bull-roarers and reeds terrify with the weird noises produced thereby, the uninitiated and the women.

The rôle that a bull-roarer plays in Ibo society was summarized nearly sixty years ago when Governor Moloney of Lagos described the Oro society. "In Yoruba, applied generally to the

area over which the Yoruba language, or some dialect thereof is spoken, the *Oro* represents the active embodiment of the civil power, the local police, the mysterious head or idol of the Civil Government; it is interpreted as the executive of the state where it is practised, deified. . . . The supreme authority of a state or town seems to be invested in this mysterious and undefined power. When any public business is to be considered, a meeting is convened in the name of *Oro*. Sentences on criminals are pronounced under the same sanction.³"

The *Mmɔ* secret society with the *maun* was a strong integrating factor among the Ibo. The society did not contain any of the men of rank, the *ɔɔ* members, but the society was at their disposal in carrying out their decrees and injunctions. The *Mmɔ*, with its alleged ghostly origin, enhanced by the use of masks, inspired fear and awe among the non-members and the women. It did not fulfill any religious functions other than as acting as guardians of all rites and customs and punishing those who infringed them. As executives who carried out the order of the *ɔɔ* their authority was enhanced and also placed beyond dispute by their mystical connection with the land of the dead.

Executions were carried out by maskers and thus all blood-feuds were avoided. Laws and decrees of society were promulgated and enforced by the *Mmɔ*. Thus, prohibitions on the harvesting of palm fruit, or of digging up new yams were enforced by the *Mmɔ*. Through the *Mmɔ* uniformity of custom and of administration was ensured even among widely separated and relatively independent lineages. The members of the *Mmɔ* were raiders, or protectors, of persons according as the *ɔɔ* men decreed.

The *maun* and the *Mmɔ* were the means of instilling among the young and uninitiated such

¹ JOHNSON, O. *The History of the Yorubas*, pp. 171, 330. London, 1921, "The late Olusi had a public funeral, a national mourning was proclaimed, and the public undertook to perform his funeral obsequies. His *Egugun* was brought out, i.e. an appearance of his apparition clothed with the clothes with which he was known to have been buried. . . ."

"Egugun, our readers will remember, are the denizens of the other world, and are supposed to be our dead relatives on a visit to us."

² PEAKE, A. S. and GRIEVE, A. J. *A Commentary on the Bible*. p. 285. London, 1923, "The King himself saw nothing, and only heard what the witch told him as to what she saw; he heard, or thought he heard, Samuel speaking; but this too has been explained by supposing that in reality the witch spoke after the fashion of a ventriloquist or a spiritualistic medium."

³ MOLONEY, C. A. "Yoruba Country". p. 163. *J.A.I.* Vol. XIX, 1890.

fear that the psychology of the child received early such a twist towards the reverence of custom and ritual that this reverence continued in after life as an integrating factor in society. The *Mmo* and the *maun* were the psychological means of conserving the culture, its practices and its ceremonies.¹

Dr. Basden in 1938 drew attention to the rôle that the *Mmo* played in Ibo society. "All spirits (maws) are supposed to rise from the ground. Before the advent of the British Government 'maw-afia' was the highest and ultimate authority in the town. It was the final court in judging affairs. For example, a man alleged to be guilty of some serious crime was first tried by the 'Ndi-chie'. They, however, could not pass sentence until, and unless, 'Maw-afia' pronounced the man guilty. It was 'Maw-afia' also which denounced witches and expelled them from the town, or compelled them to drink of the poison cup (orachi)."²

Dr. Little has found that much the same functions are discharged by the Poro secret society among the Mende of Sierra Leone.³

The *Mmo* and the *maun* have now lost their importance and their efficacy. This social integrating factor, controlled by the small local group of highly successful men—the *ozo*, could not continue once European domination appeared on the horizon. Two powerful disintegrating factors immediately came into operation.

The Christian missions, whether their doctrines disapproved or approved of a cult of the dead had no choice but to oppose the *Mmo* and the *maun*. The dogma of those Christian missions that oppose a cult of the dead did not tolerate a pagan cult of the dead among their converts. In those Christian missions where there exists a cult of the dead then if the *Mmo* and the *maun*

were spirits "a good Catholic will do the bidding of St. John: 'Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God.'"⁴ Under such a test the *Mmo* and the *maun* would certainly not be classed as "of God" and so were regarded as evil. Christian converts were forbidden to be members of these societies. In the end, to avoid clashes with Christian converts the land surrounding Christian schools, was forbidden to members of the *Mmo*—their own land forbidden to a society which until then was all powerful in the land!

The other powerful disintegrating factor was the British civil administration which refused to tolerate the use of force and violence by any section of the community against any other section of the community. Complaints of murder, of violence and of the destruction of property brought before District Officers during the *Mmo* season resulted in a posse of police arresting and publicly demasking and derobing the *Mmo* members, thus shattering locally the mystical awe in which the society was held.

Prosecutions followed and sentences of imprisonment were inflicted on the members of the *Mmo*. In other areas similar societies became prohibited societies and membership was *ipso facto*, an offence and punishable. Under such a politically hostile environment the power of the *Mmo* died: its ability to hold local Ibo society together, to enforce the desires and decrees of the local group has gone, never to return.

There is to-day no local means of enforcing the observance of even such good customs as prohibiting the collection of unripe palm fruit or of reaping the yams before mature. A great Ibo social integrating factor has gone. Soon the bull-roarer will become, among the Ibo, the toy that it is in Europe.

¹ SUMNER, W. G. KELLER, A. G. DAVIE, M. R. *The Science of Society*. IV, p. 222. New Haven, 1942. "Among the Yorubas the Egungun is regarded as a sort of supernatural inquisitor who appears from time to time to investigate the general domestic regime of the people, especially that of the women, and to require punishable actions. Although it is generally known that Egungun is only a selected man, yet it is believed among the people that to touch him is to invite death. Thus is the matter of private order attended to by an alleged daimon connected with the dead ancestors. The Ogboni society sends out a masked 'Oro' who is the public police force, if one may so express it. His approach is heralded by the hum of the whirr-stick, at the sound

of which all women must retire to their apartments. No one of them may see the bull-roarer itself. The whole of Yoruba-land is ruled by this society or this authority organized in society form. Criminals condemned to death are given over. . . to the Oro. It is thought that Oro, who is now only the guardian of the public order, as Egungun is of the private, was originally the spirit that directed the education of the boys; he seems to be the spirit of the ancestors."

² BASDEN, G. T. *Niger Ibos*. p. 298. London, 1938.

³ LITTLE, K. L. "Mende Political Institutions in Transition." *Africa*. p. 12. January 1947.

⁴ SLATER, T. *Points of Church Law*. p. 151. London, 1924.

RECUEIL DE SIGNAUX CLANIQUES OU KUMBU DES TRIBUS MBAGANI ET DU KASAI (Congo Belge)

G. VANCOILLIE, C.I.C.M.

PART I

Index analytique : Remarques préliminaires. — I. Ce qu'on entend par *kumbu* ou signaux claniques. — II. Les *kumbu* par ordre de tribu : (a) Kete, (b) Bindji, (c) Lualu. — III. Clans et villages d'après la dénomination actuelle. — IV. Répartition clanique et linguistique.

REMARQUES PRELIMINAIRES

LA TRADUCTION des *kumbu* est faite aussi littéralement que possible, ceci afin de donner une idée de la langue Bindji ou Mbagani au non-indigène et aussi pour qu'elle soit aisément comprise par l'indigène même. Elle est faite souvent par circonscription et des noms génériques ont dû être employés pour la flore et la faune.

Des répétitions seront évitées dans la traduction des *kumbu* en langue Mbagani.

Le Noir Bindji fait peu de cas de la personne du verbe. Pour un même sujet, les deuxième et troisième personnes se trouvent mêlées dans une seule phrase. L'annotation a été faite d'après la signalisation qui demeure interchangeable.

Le long des *kumbu* quelques notes grammaticales, historiques et autres ont été ajoutées.

L'ordre de venir : *igáni guéagu*, ou : *tudi i lokólókólo*, tenez-vous à l'écart ..., ne sera exprimé que par intervalles.

Les clans et les *kumbu* se succèdent par ordre géographique.

L'orthographe est celle qui est couramment employée pour la langue Luba du Kasai. Elle suit la prononciation du centre et de l'ouest des Babindji, qui paraît être la meilleure, puisqu'elle explique la raison d'existence de règles grammaticales communes à toute la tribu Bindji.

Prononciation : *e* = *e* de "il est"; *g* = *g*, de "garçon", en Bindji, et *g* de "la langue Luba", en Kete et en Lualu; *'k* = aspiration de *k*; *ni* = *gni* de "recognition", et *sh* = *ch* de "Charles".

On trouvera un essai néerlandais de grammaire Mbagani dans la revue *Kongo over Zee*, 1948.

Les accents suivants ont été employés pour les tons : aigu (') = ton haut, circonflexe (^) = ton descendant, horizontal (˘) = ton ascendant, vertical (ˊ) = ton mi-haut, grave (ˋ) = ton bas. En langue parlée, un ton bas devient plus bas après un ton haut. Il ne sera pas marqué, ainsi que le ton bas ordinaire.

Les phonèmes doubles sont suivis d'un point : *a*˙ = *a* + *a*, par exemple. Les phonèmes composés : *ie*, *au*, *ua* ont un ton double quand la ponctuation est double. Sinon ils ont un ton unique.

En langue Bindji le préfixe *n* est a-tonique.

Note : L'imprimeur a rencontré plusieurs difficultés dans la composition de cet article; ne possédant pas les matrices pour la fonte des consonnes (minuscules ou majuscules) avec accents grave ou aigu, il a marqué l'accent aigu par un apostrophe placé devant la consonne ('n, 'N) et l'accent grave par une virgule retournée ('n, 'N). D'autre part, tous les noms de clans ou de tribus employés dans le texte français, en caractère romain, sont imprimés sans accents.

I

CE QU'ON ENTEND PAR "KUMBU", OU SIGNAUX CLANIQUES

Mushi bitu úlá-la i biáù. (Prov.)

Le propriétaire veille sur ses biens.

Avant que l'oiseleur ait eu le temps de calculer sa chance, mère perdrix a déjà donné l'alarme et tous ses petits sont étendus, collés au sol, de façon à ne faire plus qu'un avec la terre. Quel est celui qui n'a eu la surprise de se trouver dans un village vide alors qu'il croyait y arriver à l'improviste et à l'insu de tous ? Il a suffi qu'une sentinelle quelconque ait aperçu au loin un étranger pour que les villageois, même les dispersés à travers champs et forêts éloignés, fussent aussitôt alertés. Ils ont entendu les coups significatifs du tambour ou quelques dizaines de sons de flûte légèrement modulés. Cette télégraphie, plus simple que le système Morse, est pratiquée partout.

Le Noir a une ouïe très développée pour distinguer les tons de sa langue, ce qui est normal, car ceux-ci font pour lui fonction de grammaire. Il comprend très bien la signification du sifflement d'un nom, d'une phrase . . . qui lui sont connus. Les signaux *kumbu* constituent sa littérature classique, au même titre que ses proverbes, ses devinettes, ses chants et ses légendes. C'est du matériel stéréotypé, compris par tout le groupe comme il l'était par les ancêtres, qui ont eu soin de l'enseigner à leur descendance. On ne signale pas n'importe quoi. Pour comprendre la phrase signalée, il faut que le Noir la connaisse, sans quoi la confusion serait toujours possible.

Chaque son de chaque mot est reproduit, haut ou bas, d'après les tons de la phrase parlée, avec moins de nuances cependant. N'importe quel ton bas est réduit uniformément bas, et tout ton haut devient haut. A titre d'exemple : *igáni gúneagu*, venez ici. Les syllabes pointées ont le ton haut, les autres le ton bas, et en langue parlée les deux derniers tons seraient plus bas. Pour ce *igáni gúneagu* on signale : bas, haut,

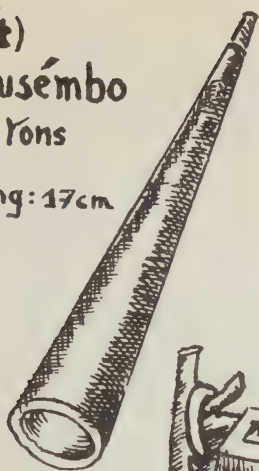
haut, haut, bas, bas, et les gens comprennent : venez ici. L'oreille de l'indigène, qui est toujours à l'écoute pour ses choses à lui, a vite fait de discerner tous les sons qui se succèdent plus rapidement qu'en langue parlée, et l'application de la modulation signalée à une phrase connue est faite inconsciemment au moment même. Ainsi on comprend que, dans ce recueil, la valeur des tons prime celle des lettres.

Les *kumbu* se divisent en plusieurs espèces :

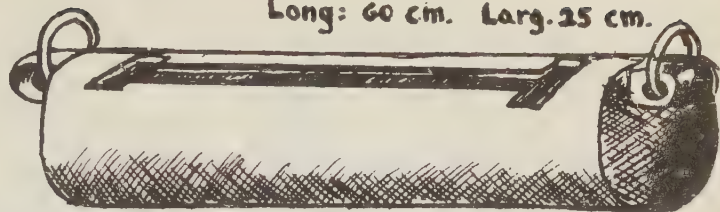
Primitivement ces signaux *kumbu* (classe (n)-(ma), verbe : *gu-kumbúla*, signaler) étaient maintes fois le signal d'alarme. Il y avait l'ennemi qui voulait franchir les frontières, le chef qui rassemblait son peuple pour tomber en territoire étranger en guise de représailles ou de répression. Plusieurs signaux cités dans ce recueil sont des *kumbu* de guerre, aisément reconnaissables au sens des mots. Ils sont toujours employés, mais seulement pour signifier un prompt rassemblement.

D'autres *kumbu* sont de simples épopées en l'honneur d'un ancêtre et de sa descendance. Cet ancêtre est de la lignée patriarcale, quand le nom est précédé du mot *mushindjé*, descendant de. Par ex. : *Mushindjé 'Amundndongo*, descendant de Gamunandongo. (Elision *g* du préfixe *ga*, Gamuna fils de Gandongo.) Le signal *mushindjé* paraît plus récent que l'autre avec le mot *mugd*, du clan maternel de. Le nom qui suit *mugd*, par ex. *Ndaba* dans *Mugd Ndaba* (pl. *Bā Nddba*), du clan maternel (de) Ndaba, n'a plus de signification aujourd'hui si ce n'est pour indiquer le clan maternel. Chez les Babindji, ces clans maternels se chiffrent finalement à une dizaine, dispersés à travers toute la tribu. Ce sont les Ba Ndaba, les Ba Pombo, les Ba Mbuiji, les Ba Gumba, les Ba Lubuta, les Ba Mbuyi, les Ba Nguemba, les Ba 'Kitshitshi, les Ba Muanza, les Ba Muendelu et les Ba Musanga (Est). (Voir *Aequatoria*, 1947, 3 & 4.)

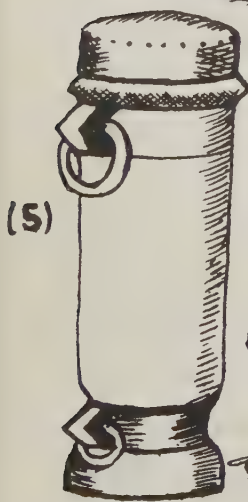
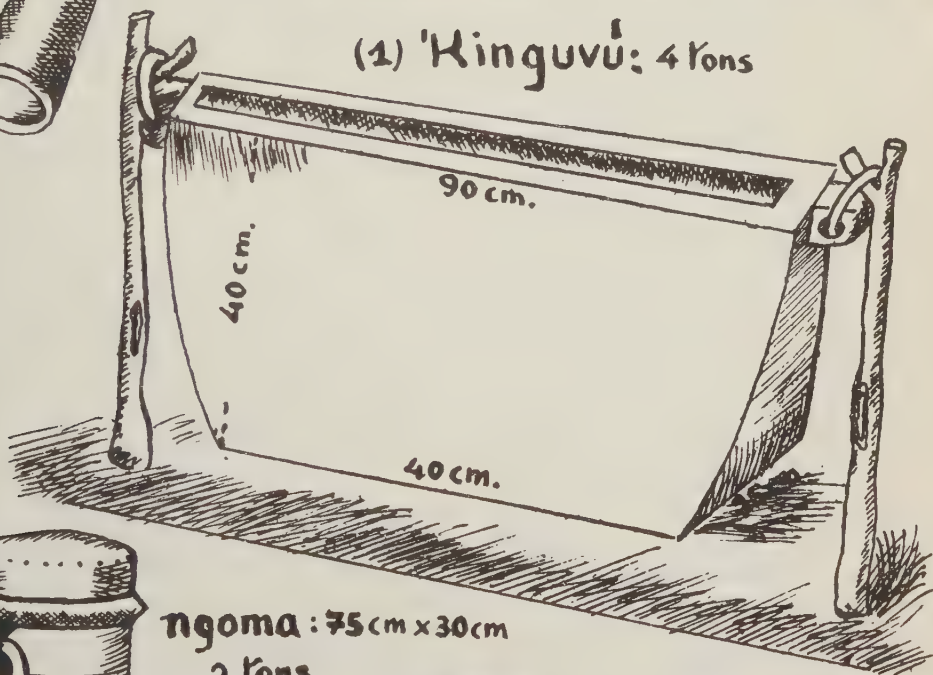
(4)
Musémbó
2 fons
Long: 17 cm



(2) 'Kiendú : 2 fons
Long: 60 cm. Larg. 25 cm.



(1) 'Kinguwú: 4 fons

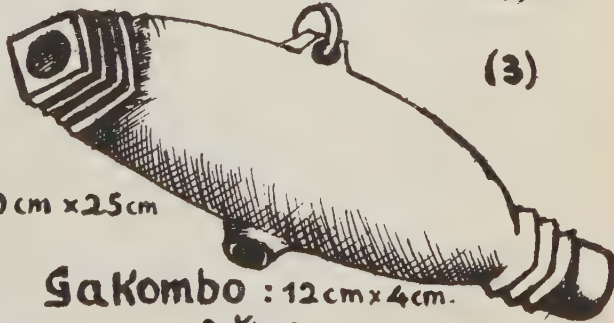


ngoma : 75 cm x 30 cm
2 fons.

(5)

gapimbi
(gapagala) 50 cm x 25 cm

*Guillebert
cicm
17/10/1968*



(3)

Gakombo : 12 cm x 4 cm.
2 fons.

INSTRUMENTS DE SIGNALISATION MBAGANI

1 et 2 : Tambours. 3 et 4 : Flûtes de signalisation. Tout est fait de bois *muhundú*. 5 : Ngoma (gapimbi), Tambour de danse, de bois *mule'la*.

Le *kumbu* qui rappelle le clan maternel se chante dans les *misungá*, chants funèbres. Celui de *mushindji* ainsi que celui de *mushi*, sert souvent de vocabulaire respectivement pour les noms de famille et pour les noms de village.

Quelques *kumbu* commencent avec le nom du personnage, de la région du groupe, et sont, soit à leur honneur par le rappel à l'une ou à l'autre qualité, soit à leur confusion. Il y a en effet plusieurs *kumbu* dans un même groupement : les uns s'adressent aux membres du groupement, les autres aux habitants de villages étrangers. Cette dernière catégorie abonde de sarcasmes. Il arrive que les désignés finissent par s'appeler eux-mêmes par cette espèce de satire. Maint Mbagani s'appellent eux-mêmes du nom *Muséndji*, "Le Sauvage".

Et comme tout homme aime à entendre sa propre louange, il y a encore les *kumbu* de la famille, partie du groupe. L'emploi en est fait lors des chasses et autres réjouissances.

A vouloir codifier tous les *kumbu* des Babindji il faudrait des volumes. Le présent recueil ne tend qu'à la conservation des signaux couramment usités, pour désigner des villages ou des groupements entiers. Ainsi le mot "clanique" du titre doit être pris au sens large.

Si de ces lignes se dégage quelque conclusion ethnologique, historique ou autre, qu'elle le soit toujours avec réserve. D'abord parce que le recueil n'est pas exhaustif, ensuite parce que la tradition orale contient, à part les signaux, encore un tas d'autre matériel, soit l'histoire du "trek" Bindji dans leur région actuelle, pour laquelle les tranchées sont de première importance, soit la répartition des familles et les arbres généalogiques des villages, soit encore l'onomasticon personnel et géographique, les devinettes, proverbes, légendes, chansons, les us et coutumes et autres. . . Et pour bien comprendre les signaux il faudrait avoir toutes ces données sous la main.

Quelques glanures. D'autres se feront le long des *kumbu*:

'*Kilambo*. La '*kilambo* est une sauterelle qui "se frappe", pour exprimer la manière de prendre, dans la plaine, au mois d'août avec ses brouillards.

Il y a plusieurs groupements qui se disent être de '*Kilambo*. Notamment les Bayombo, les Bena Tshilambo de Kamuanga Mafuta, les Ba Gumba de Fuamba et de Losa, les Ba Lubuta, les Ba Mbangu, et plusieurs d'entr'eux se disent être apparentés.

Cette sauterelle n'a rien de caractéristique qui puisse servir à l'éloge ou au blâme, à supposer que ce mot soit employé comme simple image *kumbu*. D'autre part le nom propre, personnel ou géographique, serait *Ga'kilambo*. Ainsi on peut conclure que cette dénomination : "Gens de la sauterelle '*Kilambo*", pour ne pas faire allusion à une espèce de totem, indique que ces gens ont dû se contenter de cette sauterelle comme nourriture.

'*Kite'pa*, *Gate'pa* : 8, le village Huit. Ce nom, qui est une allusion au nombre des valeurs dotales, existe dans la moitié des groupements, d'après les signaux recueillis. '*Kite'pa* devient très souvent *Gate'pa*, par remplacement de *ga*, préfixe des noms propres. Son pluriel fait toujours *Bite'pa*. La coutume de huit valeurs dotales était générale et le serait encore sans le néfaste esprit de commercialisation du mariage. Le mot huit a remplacé le mot dot dans le proverbe : *Gendalángoji, mushi mágáji, 'kite'pa mumiē'gu*, "G. si tu veux te marier, montre huit" (valeurs dotales).

Gawayi. Ce mot, qui signifie ritournelle de refrains dans les chants, a donné naissance à l'appellation de plusieurs villages.

De toutes les données traditionnelles les signaux sont peut-être le plus pur miroir de l'âme Bindji. Ils nous montrent le Bindji qui s'intéresse à tant de choses, mais si peu ressemblantes aux éléments de l'instruction et de l'éducation, faites le plus souvent par des étrangers, qui se trouvent de par leur origine sur un tout autre plan. Peut-être qu'en ce travail on récolterait plus de fruits en faisant un plus grand pas vers l'indigène, plutôt que de le supposer monté à notre propre niveau.

Ces choses à lui ce sont entr'autres son amour des enfants. Il se compare à une section de forêt qui se remplit de jeunes arbres, à la liane chargée de nombreux petits fruits, aux feuilles des arbres touffus, aux nombreuses gouttes de la pluie qui dure toute une avant-midi. Il se dit

expressément être le *Kinanga buleji*, "Le grand ami de l'enfance".

La chasse et la pêche sont à peu près ses seules occupations.

Le Mbagani ne laboure pas la terre. Les *kumbu* n'en parlent pas, à une exception près. Le paysanat lui est inconnu, il n'est pas encore arrivé au même stade d'évolution que son frère Luba. L'instruction et l'éducation de ces matières devra être autre ici qu'ailleurs et elles seront plus ardues. Ses ancêtres et ses pères ont toujours trouvé de quoi se nourrir sans remuer la terre. La femme soigne les enfants et prépare le manioc de son petit champ et les légumes de la forêt. Lui s'occupe de son chien qu'il amène à la chasse, celui-ci portant au ventre une sonnette de bois, *'kidibu*. Ou bien il part aux ruisseaux de son groupement, le dos chargé de nasses qu'il a fabriquées lui-même. Il est comme "la loutre qui s'en va voir et vider". Il est "le fin nez de la loutre qui aime les sonnettes", la pêche et la chasse sont les occupations de sa journée. L'après-midi se passe à l'ombre de ses palmiers, qui, en plus d'un vin généreux, lui procurent les fibres qui lui serviront à tresser ses corbeilles à fourmis et à sauterelles, ses carquois. . . .

Le peuple Mbagani est plus enfant que d'autres. La seule chose en laquelle il ressemble aux évolués est la guerre. Il sait défendre son "heimat", son *patá*. Le Mubindji paraît au courant du mépris que lui portent d'autres tribus, qui le regardent comme inférieur. Mais il se défend et "attaque comme les guêpes", son peuple est "une armée en ordre de bataille, qui attend l'ennemi au dessus du précipice". . . .

La connaissance approfondie de la faune et de la flore a donné au Mbagani de quoi remplir ses *kumbu*. Ils sont le reflet de son sol natal, grouillant de vie : insectes et oiseaux, hommes et bêtes, dans le cadre verdoyant des arbres et des lianes. On y entend le cliquetis des clochettes de chiens, on y voit le Mbagani armé, aux frontières, prêt à défendre les siens.

Questionnant un Mbagani au sujet de la signification des sons qu'il frappe avec une élasticité de mains inimitable, on comprend qu'il vous dise : ce *kumbu* ne signifie pas une chose, c'est notre nom, c'est nous-mêmes.

Ces *kumbu* paraissent d'un trop grand intérêt littéraire, historique, et même politique et social, pour les laisser s'évanouir dans l'oubli avec la vieille génération. Garder ces *kumbu* est un service rendu à la tribu Bindji, qui vit actuellement, comme tant d'autres, dans une quasi-indifférence pour ses propres valeurs tribales, toujours à la poursuite d'apparences plus évoluées, dont le soubassement n'est même pas soupçonné. Espérons qu'un jour quelque Mbagani plus consciencieux se mettra à la préservation des trésors de sa tribu. On ne mérite le respect des autres que quand on commence à se respecter soi-même. Qu'il se souvienne alors des *kumbu*.

Pour avoir parlé plus explicitement de la tribu Mbagani, parce que la plus nombreuse de Tshibala, je n'accepterais pas d'avoir négligé "les minorités". Le lecteur trouvera de belles qualités dans leurs *kumbu*. Les mêmes vœux se forment pour toutes les tribus parmi lesquelles j'ai eu le bonheur de travailler pendant dix ans.

II

LES KUMBU OU SIGNAUX CLANIQUES PAR ORDRE DE TRIBU

A. KETE

1. *Bá-Kí'ze* (Les Gens du Cricri)

Tous

Tsú-tsu bá-ná Ntámú,
Ntámú Tshíkelekele,
Ntámú wápimá,
Báná mbují bakutá,

Tsúbuindji tsudí tsúbidi,
Tsuasekílílé.
Duáyi guni duáyi libílu.
Nous gens du "Lion",
Lion le "Poisson",
Le lion rugit,

Les propriétaires de chèvres lient,
Il y a deux belettes,
Elles s'amuse l'une l'autre,
Venez ici venez vite.

vv. *Bunkù, Kátshikábuángá, Kidmúlómbó, Mángé-nda, Múzemba*

Támbú lugále milungu.

Lion le fort en rangs (d'hommes).

v. *Tshíkota* (Cylbopogon, densiflorus [flore])

Gabondo gá kangá,

Igání gúneagu ;

Usá'la guándji úázó'zo nání ?

Petit palmier aux cordelettes,

Venez ici ;

Qui reste chez lui questionnera qui ?

v. *Tshie'pela*

Ba'nd bashí 'Kimbua'ka mirimba,

Igání gúneagu.

Enfants des gens du village près du ruisseau

Kimbuaka aux plumes de coq,

Le 'Kimbuaka est un affluent de la Lu'kie'ki.

v. 'Nshimba (La Civette)

Ta'tá mushindji 'Amujinga,

Mushi gasenga á misaga,

Mushi gasenga á midimba,

Igání! Abá bananí lá ?

Bábi Bábindji ! Báta bátapáyí !

Père descendant du nommé "Le Cerné",

Propriétaire de la poudre pour les carquois,

Propriétaire de la poudre pour les plumes,

Venez! qui donc sont ceux-ci ?

Des Babindji ! Tuez-les !

La *gasenga* est de la poudre d'écorce d'arbre. On en enduit les carquois et les plumes de perroquet. Elle sert ici à jeter le mauvais sort. Les trois derniers villages ont leurs signaux en Bindji, excepté quelques mots : *mirimba*, Babindji, qui sont du Buga Kize.

Quand un vieux de Nshimba me racontait ce *kumbu*, tous les assistants commençaient à battre le sol, aux mots : *Bábi . . . bátapáyí*. Le signal est une moquerie des ennemis : les Bashindji Amujinga (20).

v. *Tshialú Múkómbó*

Múga Tshienze a mápanda,

Dípa 'nkúpa bídia,

'Nkúpa 'málivú, wákutapá 'mputa mukána,

Tshihulu wa Bámbakani,

Kamoni mû'e'le, wamoná wende wa mûmvíta,

Wa bende wábombéla,

Apó múd'á wa nyokò!

Ces derniers sont voisins des Bena Lulua, ce qui explique leur signal Lulua.

Dans les *kumbu* il y a plusieurs noms qui ont été intraduisibles. Pour qui la traduction des noms pourrait paraître étonnante, je renvoie aux premières lignes de ce *kumbu* où il est évident que les indigènes font emploi de la signification des noms propres. Un Européen qui s'appelle Du Moulin porte un nom qui signifie sa propre personne, mais qui est en même temps significatif pour l'origine. Pour les Noirs, cette origine est plus récente que pour les Européens.

2. Bā Kapinga

Tous

Tshinyata mbandji, Tshinyata mbandji,

Bé'ná nsángila, bé'ná Kalamba,

Usháshá lá guandji,

Wapápánguíjá ngání ?

Wádua gunú lubúlu.

(Toi) qui foules les flèches aux pieds,

Gens du rassemblement, gens du Grand-

Personnage,

Qui sera resté chez lui questionnera qui ?

Viens donc de suite par ici.

Ils ont aussi leur *kumbu* en langue Bindji.

Gaba'la gá kándá,

'Kibe'lu 'kí muzo'dí,

Galongó gá má'shi,

Mú-ínjilá bídindá.

Bosquet de lianes (à corbeilles),

Cuisse de revenant,

Ruisseau d'eau,

(Un total) qui barre la route.

Le mot *mú-ínjilá* est l'idiome des Ba Kapinga et signifie "sur la route".

3. *Báyómbo* (sg. *Múyómbo*)v. *Tshitupa* (Morceau)(a) *Bashí Gawayi* (Les gens de la ritournelle)*Gawayi galúngá,**Mushíndjì 'A'kilambo,**'Kilambo á migeta.**Mushi 'kiba'la 'kí gabandji,**'Kidambá luvula tóndo,**Magambu máshine'la.*

Mâle ritournelle,

Descendant de "La Sauterelle",

Sauterelle avec les balles.

Propriétaire du bosquet à la petite flèche,

Partie de forêt aux nombreux jeunes arbres,

Les affaires passent outre mesure.

(b) *Báná Múyá**'Kilungu 'kí Musala Mpasu,**Mushi múnzú mú dí'su,**Mushíndjì 'Andalá-ngo'ji,**Mujindjì u puyi lugúma mbau,**Bilungu bí Bá'Niengi,**Bilungu bí Bá' Gasanga.*

(Toi) de la lignée maternelle du M. Mpasu,

Avec l'intérieur de l'oeil,

Descendant de "Champignon" de la famille

'Ngoji,

Dessous de pot rouge au feu,

(Vous) de la lignée maternelle de Niengi,

(Vous) de la lignée des gens du "Rassemblement".

v. *Mátadi**Gatempa gá mikámbá.*

Région Gatempa aux arbres clorophora.

v. *Kábáta*(a) *Báná Gapindá* (Les gens du bataillon)*Gapindá mulendamina,**Uālendáminá bitá,**Unangé-tá mule'mu,**Tupanda tuātiye'la.*

Bataillon serpentant (litt. pendillant),

Qui s'en va serpentant pour la guerre,

Qui aimait la paresse,

Les filets de pêche sont déchirés. (=Il n'est plus le temps pour la pêche.)

(b) *Báná Ríjibá* (Les gens du lac)*'Kinya'ta mbandji.*

Qui foule les flèches aux pieds.

Ne nous laissons pas troubler par la différence des personnes verbales qui dépendent d'un même sujet. Le Mbagani y trouve une partie de la beauté de sa littérature.

Les signaux des Bayombo qui parlent une langue Kete, sont en Bindji. Ceci s'explique, car la moitié de Tshitupa sont originaires des Bashí 'Kilambo (8) et les autres se disent "du clan maternel des Ba Ndaba (Niengi)". D'autre part il paraît y avoir une grosse partie des Bakwa Muendela, qui habitaient la région d'entre Muyowu-Lusambo, à l'époque de l'arrivée des Babinji dans leur région actuelle. D'après leur langue ils constituent un groupement Luba, vulgairement nommé "tribu des Bakete". Ils ont donné naissance au clan Bindji des Ba Muendelu.

4. *Báka 'Njibá* (Les gens du lac)

Tous

*Múa'ne'tu múa'ne'tu wá bé'ná múlemba wá kápumbú,**Núabambúlulá kuní.*

Notre frère des gens à la colonne vertébrale d'éléphant,

Venez donc ici.

vv. *Kátshá'bálá, Muendela, Tshikangu**MúKongo á mbambi, ulá'la guluba'la,**Kapendápendá munangila mvíta.*

Homme de la plaine Kongo aux antilopes, qui dort près du bosquet,

Espèce de guépe qui aime la guerre.

Guluba'la ainsi que *kapendápendá* sont des mots Bindji.

Le nom Kongo se rencontre fréquemment chez les Bambagani ; il se prononce aussi Kuango.

v. *'Ngúvu* (L' Hyppopotame)*Mud'ne'tu mud'ne'tu wá Báka Ntúmbi á Ndayi,**Tshilowo múnéné músángilá máluvu,**Nuabambúlulá kuní.*

Notre frère des gens de Ntumbi de Ndayi,

Grande calebasse dans laquelle on vide tout
le vin de palme,
Venez donc ici.

v. 'Ntámbe (Le Lion)

Ba'ná bashi gadindi, Genda Buishi.

Enfants de la liane à caoutchouc, G.B.

v. Múzó-di

Ba'ná bashi galengá bashi ga'ta.

Enfants des affamés, de discorde.

Les deux derniers villages parlent le Mbagani.

Les gens de Katshabala insultent les Ba Pombo (33) avec des signaux Bindji, tandis que les Ba Pombo ripostent en Kete.

v. 'Mbúlukú (L'Antilope)

Ce village de la chefferie des Ba Basongo (34) est du groupement des Baka Njiba, d'après les vieux des deux partis.

Báka Nkengi á Ndáyí, Bé'nd Múlomba,

Kasókómí mímúsulu,

Nanshá útshidí mútéketé.

Gens de Nkengi, fils de Ndayi, gens de Múlomba,

Qu'il ne se cache pas dans la rivière,

Quoique tu sois encore gamin.

Le "Lac" pourrait être le Munkamba, d'où ils se disent être venus ensemble avec les Ba Kize (1), comme tous les Babindji, *circa* 1820. En tribu Bindji, ce "trek", connu sous le nom "l'arrivée du Lac Munkamba", met fin aux généalogies et aux réminiscences de valeur historique. Les générations—avec leurs circonstances—prises de 25 ans, nous font remonter à une date approximative de 1820. Ceci correspond aux évaluations, faites à part et ailleurs par le R. P. Casteleyn, dans son étude inédite: "Land en Volk van Ndekeshá". Il y est dit notamment que les Babindji sont arrivés d'outre-Lulua pendant le premier quart du XIXe siècle.

D'autre part, vu les affinités linguistiques, il est probable que la tribu Bindji ait vécu, même avant "l'arrivée du Lac Munkamba", en contiguïté avec les tribus Balualu, Asala Mpasu, Baí ende, Atshioke. . . En ce sens, il faudrait comprendre le mot "arrivée" comme refoulement.

Les Bakete et les Bena Lulua, deux sous-tribus Luba, refoulés de leur côté par d'autres Baluba, auraient servi d'aile de migration, pivotant aux environs de la Bushimaye, 7°S., balayant les Babindji jusque dans leurs plaines actuelles, où ils vivent en une densité remarquable. Les Bakete auraient été les premiers à refouler les Babindji. Coïncés à leur tour, par les Bena Lulua, ils se seraient infiltrés, en direction N.E.—S.O., au milieu de la tribu Bindji, où ils forment des îlots épars jusqu'à nos jours.

Ainsi s'explique aussi ce que dit Hermann Wiszman, au sujet des Bakete, dans son livre *Im Inneren Afrikas*, 1883.

5. Bánda 'Nkuba (Les Gens à la foudre)

Tous

Mud'ne'tu mud'ne'tu

Múka Kabúnda 'Nkuba,

'Uta káyáyá lubilu,

Bíbala bitshigila.

Bálé balé míkolo,

Baléngéla kúbangiká 'nkanú,

Kánudímue'ni,

Buámblángáná budí 'mpáta,

'Nkáyebi wádimúe'nábu.

Notre frère

Du clan de Kabunda à la foudre,

Qui marches lentement,

Les roseaux tombent.

.....

Ce kumbu est presque le même que celui de la famille de Katshabala (4).

v. Kákúngúlá

Kaodi Bidimba

Nanshá wá'dila bitshí,

Kumónípu muóbeshi,

Basambá kabápi,

Ba'lákáná díòndá.

Kaodi (de) Bidimba,

Même si tu pleures beaucoup;

Sûtu ne vois quelqu'un qui tranquillise,

Qui consolent ne donnent rien,

Ils désirent la maigreur.

v. Múzámhá

Múzámhá 'Nkumbi

Múka Kábálá,
Búlóbá kubámbádi,
Waya ditunga wabusangana.
 Muzamba (de) Nkumbi,
 Du clan Kabala,
 Ne fais pas place pour du terrain
 Tu iras ailleurs et tu en trouveras.

v. *Múkónké*

Múkónké wá 'Nkuba,
Múlómó wá tshisambi,
Kálumáná bá mábungu,
Batshí'ná 'mpala, bambilá díkóshí,
Wábambúlulá kunú !
 Mukonke à la foudre,
 Ouverture de grenier,
 Finissez avec les gens aux Calebasses,
 Qui craignent la face (le) disent quand on a
 montré la nuque,
 Viens par ici!

v. *Muámhá*

Muá'ne'tu kayi,
Múka 'Mbáji á 'Ndáyí,
Wá báná lúpapa lua mítondó.
 Où est donc notre frère,
 Du clan de Mbaji de Ndayi,
 Des gens à la gaine de M.

6. *Báná Kásámbuyi* (Les gens de Kasambuyi)

Lúpúmbá á Múkadi,
Kandándá 'nkuba,
Kánudimué' nemué'ne,
Múlumia'na á Kátembu,
Wábambúlulá kunú,
Baluba gé'gela mupáta.
 Fourmi (qui marche en rangs fermés) de
 Mukadi,
 La foudre ne (la) touche pas,
 Venez voir vous-mêmes,
 Bonhomme de Katembu,
 Viens donc par ici,
 Les étrangers sont au dehors.
 Le dernier vers est en langue Bindji.

7. *Bé'ná Tshilámbo* (Les gens de la Sauterelle)

Tous

Múá'ne'tu múá'ne'tu wá Tshilámbo á 'nkasha'ma,

Wá tshiténdéténdé tshiampángishí,
Bábandi baté'na babandá,
Batshiná 'nkelekende.
Bé'ná 'mvudila múmpatá,
Tshilámbo á múkété.
 Notre frère de la Sauterelle du léopard,
 Du palmier élaïs que je n'ai pu monter,
 Les grimpeurs ne montent pas,
 Ils ont peur des épines (de régime de noix)
 Gens qui croissez dans la plaine,
 Sauterelle avec la balle.

Ce groupement, pour une grande partie de composition Mbagani, se dit apparenté avec les Bashi 'Kilambo (8), qui ont en effet la dernière ligne dans leur *kumbu*.

v. *Báka 'Ngónie* (*Lúkanda*)

Múá'ne'tu múá'ne'tu wá Báka 'Ngónie á Lúlúá
Batakáyi lúbilu,
Túbé'lu tútshikilá.
 Notre frère du clan 'Ngonie de la Lulua,
 Paresseux,
 Les guêpes sortent.

Il est intéressant de comparer ce *kumbu* avec celui des Baka Njiba (4). Les *tube'lu* sont une espèce de fourmis-guêpes.

v. *Báka 'Ndáyí* (*Kám. Máfúta*)

'Ndáyí kabángú, 'mputa múdikasa,
Múngá mú tshianzá,
Kóni kashilá má'yi,
Muntú kapidí muá'nende.
 Ndayi avec la cicatrice, une blessure au pied,
 Une autre à la main,
 Petit fruit qui s'abstient d'eau,
 Que personne ne refuse son enfant.

Le fruit *kóni* se trouve dans une gousse à l'abri de la pluie.

v.v. *Bé'ná Muándé* (les 5 autres)

Múá'ne'tu múá'ne'tu wá bé'ná Muándé,
Wá bé'ná 'mpukú,
Kúbálá líkosa, biwabálá,
Wápálamíná nálo.
 Notre frère des gens de Muande,
 Des gens nombreux comme les rats,

A compter les poils, si tu les comptes,
Tu échoueras avec eux (les poils de rats).

A comparer les *kumbu* des Ba Musenga (15) avec celui des Bena Muande, on croirait à une origine commune.

Les Bena Kasuba (Kamuanga Mafuta) signalent les Bena Muande en langue Bindji : *Be'na Nkóbo, Bashindji 'Anguba*. Ils sont en effet des descendants de Ganguba, ancêtre d'une grande partie du groupement Gumba de Losa (24), et Diebu, descendant de Ganguba, est le fondateur commun du village de Muladila (7, Bena Muande) et de plusieurs autres des Ba Gumba. Les Bena Muande insultent de leur part les Bena Kasuba : *Bashí 'Kisangá Patá* (35) parce que les gens de Lukanda sont originaires de là. Une branche du village de Kamuanga Mafuta est Mushindji Amujinga (20).

7'. *Bána Tshibundji*

v. *Kávé'tá*

Tshibundjibundji,
'Nkókó wa-té-télé múbisáfu,
Mátaku ma' tshínú,
Ba'tú 'mbonsó babondélé.
Bá' Kalubi,

Mutumbá washilá mímámami.
Homme des Bana Tshibundji,
La poule a des petits dans les herbes,
Le dessous du mortier,
Tous pilent, ils renversent.
Gens de Kalubi,
Colline qui habite dans les pierres.

v. *Bikóngóló.*

Múso'so' ubúngúlá 'nzubú,
Múna 'nzubú wafú tshíáyí.
Termite qui dévore la maison,
Le propriétaire meurt de désir.

v. *Kasómbó*

Múa'ne'tu mína múkilá á 'nguba,
Muishi Kalemba,
Musó'kúlá'ni sónganga sónganga.
Notre frère à la queue de foudre,
Homme de Kalemba,
Intercède bien pour lui.

Rien qu'en observant les tons hauts qui reviennent presque ininterrompus en langue Kete (Luba), on comprend que celle-ci sonne beaucoup plus monotone que la langue Bindji, différenciée et mélodieuse. (A suivre.)

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Nigerians for Senior Government Posts.

The Governor of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson, has appointed a Commission,

"to make recommendations as to the steps to be taken for the execution of the declared policy of the Government of Nigeria to appoint Nigerians to posts in the Government Senior Service as fast as suitable candidates with the necessary qualifications come forward, with special reference to scholarship and training schemes."

The Commission is to prepare a training and recruitment scheme to extend over a period of years and to consider the most effective application of the public available for scholarships and training schemes.

* * *

Nigerian Art Exhibitions. In the last two years, there has been a considerable revival of interest on the part of the Nigerian people in both the modern and ancient art of their country. This revival was marked by two recent art exhibitions held at Lagos, one an exhibition of Contemporary Nigerian Art which featured paintings, sculpture and wood carvings by both African and European residents of Nigeria, and the other an exhibition of ancient Benin works of art. At the opening of the latter exhibition on June 30, the Governor of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson, K.C.M.G., said that plans have been prepared for a national museum at Lagos, and that one was already under construction at Ife to house the famous Ife bronzes and terra cottas. (A collection of these famous bronzes excavated at Ife between 1938 and 1940 is at present on view at the British Museum.) The Governor mentioned the growing interest of the people in the art of their country and said that the Government has started to buy examples of old Benin art from overseas.

In 1943 a Government official was seconded to

report on steps to be taken to preserve antiquities, and a survey to cover the whole of Nigeria was begun. In 1946 a new post, Surveyor of Antiquities, was established and £25,000 was provided for the repurchase of Nigerian works of art from overseas.

* * *

Towards a Literate Africa. Longmans, Green & Co. have published under the above title a Report of the Conference held in December 1947 under the auspices of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa and the Colonial Department of the University of London Institute of Education. The Editors are L. J. Lewis and the late Miss Margaret Wrong. The papers provide interesting reading and are divided among five chapters. Prof. Ida Ward, Miss M. M. Green, Mr. J. Williamson and Mr. C. O. Botchway contribute to "Linguistic Principles in Literacy Development"; Dr. R. East and Rev. A. Sandilands to "The Preparation of African Literature"; Mrs. H. Hay and Miss I. Mason to "Preparation of Teaching material for Literacy Campaigns"; Rev. R. R. Young, Miss K. White, Miss M. Holding and Mr. T. J. Adewale to "Central, Local and Voluntary Initiative"; and Mr. C. G. Richards to "The mechanics of Book Distribution".

* * *

Les Arts Populaires du Congo Belge is the title of a little book by G. D. Périer issued by the Office de Publicité, S. C., Brussels. This publication is one of the numbers of the "Collection Nationale", and the writer is secretary to the "Commission pour la protection des arts et métiers indigènes du Congo belge". This book, well illustrated with Congo photographs, gives a good general survey of the various branches of art and artistic expression in the Congo. Especial emphasis is placed upon rhythm and the great

part it plays in all branches of art; not only in the dance and in music, but also in weaving, pottery, architecture, masks and painting.

* * *

Education in Africa. Progress during 1948 in creating a University College or University in each of the major colonial regions, has been substantial. In Nigeria, the new University College at Ibadan received its first students in January, and by October, accommodation for over 200 students had been prepared. In the Gold Coast, a new University College began its courses on October 11. In East Africa, Makerere College in Uganda is being developed as a regional University College, and has been granted £40,000 by the Kenya Government to endow a chair of Veterinary Science, and has received a gift of £50,000 from Dr. J. T. Williamson, a diamond mine owner in Tanganyika. During the year, the Gordon Memorial College in the Sudan was formally recognized as having University College status, and is being expanded.

The problems of mass education are being tackled on a large scale in Africa. During the year, mass education officers have been at work in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Nyasaland, and were being appointed to Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. In most of the other African territories mass education work is undertaken by Social Welfare or Public Relations Officers. In addition, the Missions are playing a noteworthy part in mass education campaigns, and a particularly successful experiment has been the mass education drive started by a Mission, in 1945, at the Mindolo copper-mine compound in Northern Rhodesia, where, in three years, nearly 3,000 people have learned to read. In Udi, in Eastern Nigeria, a scheme initiated and organized by a District Officer in 1944 has shown that Africans have both the will and energy to carry through a campaign in mass education without extensive financial backing. There, as the result of instruction given in schools, market places and grass shelters, what began as literacy teaching has developed into a village improvement scheme and the building of reading rooms, maternity

homes, dispensaries, and co-operative shops set up largely through African initiative and efforts. During 1948, a full-scale mass-literacy campaign has begun in Uganda, where the chiefs have held their own classes and the Social Welfare and Public Relations Departments have organized a fortnight's training school.

In December, the Colonial Office announced that new experiments in mass education had begun in the Ho-Kpandu district of the Gold Coast. There, a team under the recently appointed social development officer visits a remote town or village, gives a three or four weeks' extensive course to Africans, and then moves on to a new town leaving the Africans to hand on the methods they have learned from the team. The techniques being taught include teaching of the three "Rs", the holding of literacy campaigns, and the running of discussion, first aid and hygiene groups.

* * *

The Anchau Settlement in Nigeria. *Combating the Tsetse-Fly in West Africa:* Sleeping sickness surveys carried out in Zaria Province during 1933-35 revealed infection rates of 20 to 40 per cent. Attention was concentrated on the Eastern districts, where the incidence of infection was heaviest, and the Anchau district was finally chosen for the scheme on account of its relatively good communications, and because there seemed to be good prospects of eradicating tsetse in this area.

The tsetse-fly breeds in and inhabits the vegetation near streams and rivers, and clearing operations at Anchau involved the felling of the thicket and low-branching trees along every stream in the corridor. This sufficed to kill all tsetse in the dry season. To prevent re-infestation from outside the corridor during the rains, the last mile of each stream system was ruthlessly cleared, and not a shrub was left standing. By April 1945, the tsetse-fly had been eradicated from 610 square miles of country, necessitating the clearing of 540 miles of stream.

Social and Economic Achievements: The success of the Anchau experiment is shown in the summary of achievements contained in the Report. In

addition to the tsetse-clearing, a new town, 16 villages and 60 miles of road have been built. Four old towns have been improved by slum clearance measures, and people from congested areas rehoused in the newly opened areas. Every hamlet of a reasonable size in about 600 square miles of the corridor has been supplied with a cement-lined well, 126 of which have been sunk. A veterinary station and stock farm at Anchau provides manure, cattle immunization facilities, and helps the villagers in the improvement of their livestock. Agricultural methods have been improved and over 18,000 fruit and shade trees have been planted. Flourishing sugar and pig-breeding industries have been established bringing considerable wealth and nutritional improvement to the peasant. The new model district market at Anchau has a slaughter slab, meat counters, an animal clinic and hide-drying and clarified butter fat units. All this development was carried out under the planning and guidance of the Medical, Agricultural, and Veterinary Departments.

* * *

African Art in Southern Rhodesia. An exhibition of unusual interest took place in London, at the Gallery of the Royal Society of Painters in Water colours, from January 11-29. It comprised paintings, water colour drawings, and carvings by Bantu artists at Cyrene, an African primary school near Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

Nine years ago the school was founded by Canon Edward Paterson who had previously studied art in London and became art instructor at a Teacher Training College in Pretoria, South Africa. He had conceived the idea of starting a mission school for Africans in which they were encouraged to express themselves through the medium of art. Accordingly, with the support of his Bishop and a generous gift of 20 square miles of farm lands and buildings, a primary school for Africans, under the Anglican Church, was opened in 1940.

Cyrene is organized on the same general lines as any other mission school with a Government grant; boys attend from several Southern

Rhodesian tribes and from neighbouring African territories, and ages vary, on the average, between 10 and 20 years. However, there is one feature which distinguishes Cyrene, and that is the importance attached to art as a medium of self-expression. Canon Paterson aims at giving every pupil the opportunity of expressing himself through drawing and painting, which is a compulsory subject. The method is one of encouragement rather than direction; the boys are provided with materials, and tools but are not given formal instruction on colour and perspective, nor encouraged to study European models. The school chapel is decorated with frescoes, painted by the pupils, depicting scenes from the life of Christ, in which Christ and other biblical characters are represented as Africans. The range of book-learning is limited, but courses in building, carpentry, wood-carving and agriculture are important parts of the syllabus.

Cyrene can definitely be said to have laid the foundations of a Bantu art. There has been no tradition of pictorial art among the Bantu tribes of Central Africa apart from simple carvings, and, during the past nine years, the work at Cyrene has shown a clear development in technique. None of the boys is selected for artistic ability; they are an average cross-section of African youth, though some of them have become skilled artists and craftsmen.

The London exhibition represented a selection of the best work done at Cyrene and included carvings, water-colour drawings and paintings by the pupils. These works showed little or no European influence and there was, in many of them, a repetitive effect giving the impression of a fabric design with some affinity to Eastern art forms. Some of the pictures drew their inspiration from scenes within the boys' own experience; others were products of imagination.

One picture in the exhibition showed the visit of the Wise Men offering gifts of ivory, hoes and mealies to an African Virgin and Child, with dark-skinned angels playing on Native pipes. Some of the drawings depicted scenes from the lives of Bantu heroes; others represented the local countryside, the round huts of the Native

villages being interwoven in a rhythmical pattern of trees and flowers. Most of the carvings were of African figures, one or two showing a remarkable strength of line, and there is also a collection of carved wooden bowls. All the works exhibited in London were noteworthy for their originality; many were bold, and show a definite sense of pattern and colour; some revealed subtle touches of humour.

During recent years the experiment at Cyrene has received a good deal of publicity; exhibitions have been held in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa in order to show what African art, uninfluenced by western tradition, can achieve. During the recent Royal tour to South Africa, the Queen visited the school and accepted a small soapstone carving of a goat suckling a kid, the work of one of the pupils.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. (Cambridge. U.P. 1948.) 40 pp. 1/6.

This brochure by the Professor of Social Anthropology at Oxford is the Frazer lecture for 1948. It is a disappointment. Frazer was a supporter of the theory of the independent invention of cultures, of the psychic unity of the human mind. "If there is one general conclusion which seems to emerge from the mass of particulars, I venture to think that it is the essential similarity in the working of the less developed human mind among all races which corresponds to the essential similarity in their bodily frame revealed by comparative anatomy." This is important, for it is upon this point that the author of *The Golden Bough* differs from many contemporary anthropologists, who in similar habits and customs see proofs of contact and exchange of ideas, between different races and peoples. (DOWNIE, R. A. *James George Frazer*. 32. London 1940.)

The supporters of this theory have never explained why in Africa men, having invented the same Divine Kingship concept in different languages, should also invent the same roots for the keywords of the ritual. . . . Lack of a suitable explanation for such linguistic similarities is shattering to the holders of the theory of psychic unity. It is also astonishing to find no mention

of Hocart's contribution to the study of the Kingship. The pattern which he showed to be the same wherever the kingship is found stands out clearly in the coronation ritual of the Shilluk king. So far as Africa is concerned it is obvious that the coronation ritual is a borrowed one.

There is a clear record in the Old Testament. When the Jews besought Samuel to give them a king so that they could be like other nations, it is clear that their kingship was not invented by them but taken over, and taken over with the same rites and ceremonies that are to-day found in the coronation ritual. Here is an instance that runs counter to the theory of Frazer.

Professor Evans-Pritchard does not make it clear whether he accepts the kingship among the Shilluk as originating on Frazerian lines or whether the Shilluk kingship is the result of a culture contact. One infers that the concept of kingship (and also its patterned ritual?) arose as a result of a segmented type of society. It is true Professor Evans-Pritchard remarks that he has not followed Sir James Frazer's method of interpretation, but he offers no explanation for the origin of the kingship except that it is in some degree a sacred office (p. 36).

The statement that it is the kingship and not the king who is divine, is a statement made by Professor Evans-Pritchard without any supporting data and runs counter to what is known of other

divine kings. Thus, the divine Umundri king is called a *mm*, i.e. spirit. The Bavenda king becomes a god. So does the king of Benin. What is wanted, is not Professor Evans-Pritchard's statement on this point but that of the Shilluk and this statement, he does not give us. However, he does say that each Shilluk king is descended from Nyikang who is immortal (p. 17) and that is perilously near being divine.

Professor Evans-Pritchard speaks of a royal clan. Such royal clans are characteristic of ruling groups that are foreigners and have settled amongst indigenous people whose society is based on segmented lineages. Thereupon the royal group proceeds to reign if not to rule over these serfs. Thus, Sir Richmond Palmer points out: "The normal condition of almost any political unit save among the most primitive pagans, consists of a superior race (usually Hamitic or partly Hamitic in origin) in ascendancy over an inferior race (usually more or less negro)" (*Bornu Gazetteer*, p. 54). Sir Richmond Palmer makes his point clearer still. "Authors who have identified peoples of the present day with tribes known to the ancients or medaeval world, have been much lead astray by the fact that it has never been sufficiently understood that nearly all the Saharan names for peoples denote a 'caste' and not an ethnic unit; that for many centuries the whole Sahara had been divided into two sets of people: the 'rulers or nobles' and the 'ruled or servile' peoples in addition to slaves and that this conception of a natural order of creation has been fundamental not only in the Sahara itself but in all kingdoms or states which have arisen in the Sudan belt to the south of the Sahara since earliest times." (*Sudanese Memoirs*. III, p. 54). This pattern fits the kingdom of Benin whose kings came from the ruling group at Ife; it fits the divine Umundri kings who came from an Igala ruling group who in turn came from a Jukun one and the Jukun ruling group came from the east. All these ruling groups were royal clans of foreigners and the structure of the Shilluk royal clan shows either that it was of such origin or else arose by imitation as did the royal clan of Saul in Israel. What is clear is that the Shilluk

divine king is not a local, self evolved entity on Frazerian lines, nor a sociological product of segmented societies.

In view of the above remarks that the kingship is always associated with a royal clan one is faced with a statement that "the kingship belongs to all the people and not to the royal clan" (p. 29). This position is unique but no explanation is offered why it is unique, and perhaps one may use the Professor's own words on the views of others, that his contentions, about the divinity of the kingship and not of the king, "are not, for me at any rate, well founded" (p. 30).

As I have said, this lecture is a disappointment. No mention is made, except in a footnote, to the great study of kingship in Africa by Tor Istam, that the Shilluk kingship is but one of large number of divine kingships which have not evolved locally but have been imposed upon local peoples. Professor Evans-Pritchard without explicitly saying so leads one to infer that the Shilluk divine kingship is a local evolution and this point of view has been emphasized by another. "Professor Evans-Pritchard shows how the Shilluk social structure has evolved. He describes what part the kingship plays in it, and suggests why the institution is typical of a particular society." (Cambridge University Press, Autumn *Books Catalogue*.)

It is interesting to note that there are signs of a dual grouping in the Shilluk society, but no mention is made that dual grouping is often found with divine kings. The best example comes from the territory adjacent to that of the Shilluks—the valley of the Nile with its divine sun-gods and its Upper and Lower Egypt.

In the matter of the killing of the kings, my own investigations support Professor Evans-Pritchard. I could find no authenticated instances. However Dr. Meek has records of such happenings and there is also much other evidence in support of the non-natural demise of divine kings that one must regard the practice of the killing of the king as the true, original ritual. Evidence on this point was given by Professor Seligman in his book *Egypt and Negro Africa*—the Frazer Lecture for 1933.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Xhosa Law of Persons. J. VAN TROMP. (Cape Town : Juta, 1948.) 178 pp. 30/-.

This is indeed a welcome addition to our meagre stock of literature on South African Native law. Concisely written, lucid and systematically arranged, Dr. van Tromp's book, which earned him a doctorate in law at Stellenbosch University, will be used extensively by students and practitioners. As the title indicates, the work is confined to an exposition of the rules governing betrothal, marriage, the dissolution of marriage, and the relations between husbands and wives, parents and children. Since, however, these topics comprise the bulk of the existing Native law, the restriction is not a serious drawback.

The book deals not with the whole of the law applied to Africans to-day, but only with that part of it that goes back to the period before European domination. Dr. van Tromp explains that his aim was "to reproduce Xhosa legal principles as understood and applied by the amaXhosa, untainted by ideas and conceptions peculiar to Roman-Dutch Law or English Law". The approach has its disadvantages—to omit the conflict between the common law and the Native law is to omit the main issues and the most perplexing problems resulting from the administration of the civil law among Africans, but it is perhaps in this attempt to purify the Native law and prune it of its foreign accretions that the main theoretical interest of the book will be found.

Using information obtained during a period of eighteen months spent in the Transkeian and Ciskeian reserves, Dr. van Tromp shows that on many points the law as interpreted and applied by the courts is at variance with the original rules of the Xhosa tribal society. Of these changes, some were deliberately made and are well known, as, for instance, the statutory ban on claims for the return of cattle at the death of a wife, the majority status conferred on men and women at 21 years, or the emancipation of widows from male guardianship. In other respects, however, Dr. van Tromp has challenged the accuracy of what for many years has been regarded as an authentic statement of the traditional law.

Thus we are told that, contrary to the authority of Maclean's *Compendium*, an action does lie for damages for slander, that the conventional damages for seduction and pregnancy were two head of cattle, not five head as are allowed to-day, and that the damages did not merge into the *ikhazi* if marriage followed. Contrary to a long line of Cape decisions, but in keeping with the viewpoint adopted by the Transvaal and Natal division of the Native Appeal Court, Dr. van Tromp asserts that if a proposed marriage does not take place, the payer of cattle is entitled to recover them, except for the *isinyaniso* or pledge beast, even though the man was to blame for the breach.

Useful as it is to have these departures from the original law recorded, the corrections would have been more valuable for juristic purposes and as a guide to research along similar lines in other regions if Dr. van Tromp had been less reticent about the nature of the field work on which he relied to supplement and verify the data obtained from the law reports and other literary sources. One would like to know how the original law can be discovered in an area where few recognized tribal courts exist, and where those that are not recognized keep no records. There are "informants", yes, but what is their authority, and do they speak with one voice, in contrast to the assessors in the Native Appeal Courts who so often disagree among themselves? What, in short, is the "Law", if the version of the courts is held incorrect?

To illustrate, let us take the example of the rules applying to the *ubulunga* beast which is given to a woman when she marries. Originally, the animal with its progeny was regarded as the wife's "property", and the husband acquired no rights of "ownership" in them. Now the courts, claiming to act on the opinion of the chiefs and other experts, have decided that the custom has lost much of its former meaning, and that, while the wife retains an interest in the *ubulunga* beast, it belongs to the husband, whose heir can claim it on his death. Dr. van Tromp questions the soundness of these decisions. "Thorough research", he states, revealed to him "that Xhosa Law in this matter has not changed at all and

that the *ubulunga* beast still belongs to the wife, and not to "her husband. . . . Furthermore, in spite of the so-called 'contact with European civilization', the bulk of the amaXhosa (and all those tribes where the custom regarding this beast is found) in their daily life still adhere to the significance of the *ubulunga* beast."

Since the courts do allow the *ubulunga* beast to be attached for the husband's debts and to be regarded as part of his estate, it can hardly be claimed that the law has not changed. What is evidently meant is that the Xhosa reject these innovations, consider them inequitable, or refuse to be bound by them. Surely, however, there are some persons—the husband's creditors or heir—who, standing to benefit from the new interpretation in certain situations, may be expected to approve of the amended rule within the limits set by their self-interest? Can one be certain therefore that, resulting from the misconceptions of the courts, there has not been a change in the attitude towards the custom on the part of a significant number of Xhosa?

Another, and related, criticism that might be made of the book is that it shows a bias against modifications of the customary law. The author clearly belongs to the school that wishes to preserve

tribalism, or at any rate make it the basis of a new "Bantu civilization". The point of view may or may not be a sound one, but it should not be allowed to influence an inquiry into the actual content of the law. It is when Dr. van Tromp passes from the plane of legal definition and analysis to an expression of opinion about the desirability of changing the law, that he lays himself open to attack. Contact with European society is a reality; neither the courts nor the student of Native law can afford to ignore the effects on tribal institutions. It is correct to say that the courts, in allowing a widow to possess in her own right property acquired after her husband's death, have acted contrary to Native custom, but it does not follow that, as Dr. van Tromp suggests, the change is unwise and harmful to African society. To substantiate this conclusion, he should have extended the scope of his inquiry to include the actual nature of the Xhosa family at the present time, and the effects upon it of migrant labour, a money economy, and the other influences of contact with European civilization. To do this, however, he would have had to plunge from the field of law into the wider and less chartered sea of sociological research.

H.J.S.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. EDWIN W. SMITH is late editor of *Africa*, a past president of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain, the author of many books on Africa, where much of his time was spent as a missionary.

The Rev. W. BOURQUIN is a missionary of the Moravian Church and is working among the Xhosa in East Griqualand.

The Rev. W. SINGLETON FISHER is a missionary of the Christian Mission in Many Lands and is working in the southern part of the Belgian Congo.

Dr. M. D. W. JEFFREYS spent many years in the British Colonial Service in West Africa. He is now senior lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand.

Père G. VANCOILLIE, C.I.C.M., is a missionary of the Mission Catholique and is working at Tshibala-Kazumba in the Belgian Congo.